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Two Essays on the Position, Growth, and Influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.

By J. E. C. BODLEY, M. A.

Of Balliol College, Oxford.

WITH A

PREFACE

BY

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,

Archbishop of Baltimore and Primate of the United States.

BALTIMORE:

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ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN AMERICA.

THE CATHOLIC DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA.

17345

By J. E. C. BODLEY.

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.
1890.

PREFACE.

The accompanying Pamphlet is a reprint from two articles which have recently appeared, the former in the *Nineteenth Century*, the latter in the *Edinburgh Review*.

Since Macaulay's splendid Essays of a half century ago, few contributions to current literature have excited so much interest, or elicited so much praise as have marked the appearance of these articles. They have been widely copied, and favorably commented upon by the friends and foes of Catholicism in the English-speaking world, and I learn that a French and German translation of these papers has been published in Europe.

By a masterly grasp of thought, Mr. Bodley has compressed into seventy-seven pages, the salient points of a century of our Church's history. He has given us a graphic and an interesting sketch of the rise and development and prosperity of the Catholic religion in the United States, together with the leading causes that have contributed to its marvellous extension.

And this he has done in a style at once so attractive and entertaining, so luminous and perspicuous as to absorb the attention and delight the fancy of the reader from beginning to end.

Should the Catholic reader meet with an expression here and there to which he would hesitate to subscribe, he should remember that the author is a Protestant; and indeed it is rarely that a production so free from bias, so broad and fair-minded has ever emanated from a non-Catholic pen. So warm indeed and sympathetic is the tone of the articles that several critics were led to believe that the writer was of the household of the faith.

I was reluctant for some time to yield to the request made to me to write this brief Preface, in view of the frequent and too partial allusions of Mr. Bodley to myself, which I would fain expunge from the pamphlet, had the distinguished author permitted. But the importance of the subject which he as a stranger has dealt with, has constrained me to sacrifice personal feelings to the instruction and edification of the reading public.

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,
Archbishop of Baltimore.

BALTIMORE, *August* 20*th*, 1890.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN AMERICA.

THE students of the Collegj Esteri at Rome are not in appearance an athletic race. They are a familiar feature of the Eternal City as they promenade somewhat listlessly its thoroughfares in groups of two and three, attired in the uniform of their various nationalities. The British tourist, as he suns himself on the Pincian Hill on a Sunday morning while his wife and daughters have gone to the English church at the Porta del Popolo, eyes askance what he calls their monkish garb, and as he unfolds his *Times* to read the correspondence on 'Compulsory Athletics' he devoutly thanks heaven that his young barbarians at Harrow and Oxford are not as these students. Even to the more sympathetic observer these pale seminarists do not give the impression of being in training for the life of endurance which the main body of the Church Militant imposes on its officers wherever stationed, whether in the slums of Westminster or in the fever-stricken camps of Tonkin or in the swamps of the Zambesi river.

Such being the characteristic of these young ecclesiastics, the proceedings of a group of them surprised me not a little one sunny afternoon in the spring of 1887 on the flowery green sward of the Pamphilj Doria gardens. There, in an open space cleared among the ilex trees, a band of them, with cassocks turned up, were engaged in an active game. Its nimble mysteries were unfamiliar to English eyes, but the scientific manner in which a ball was thrown convinced me that the players were no foreigners. It is an ethnological fact that the Anglo-Saxon

race alone is capable of propelling a missile in the method known as "shying." The young Disraeli, who had nothing of the Anglo-Saxon in his wonderful nature, gives expression to this, when writing to his father from Malta how some British officers playing rackets had struck a ball to where he was sitting, and how he picked it up and requested "a rifleman to forward its passage, as I really had never thrown a ball in my life." There was no need, therefore, to accost the players in Italian or in French, so, to my question to one of them, "Pray tell me who you are and what you are doing?" was made the answer in the unmistakable intonation of New England, "We are the American College, Sir, and we are playing at base-ball."

This was my first acquaintance with the Catholic Church of the United States, and it was a typical instance of the intensely national idiosyncrasy of that great branch of the Church Universal that its students sent from the New World to be imbued with the tradition of the Old should have been playing their American base-ball beneath the very shadow of St. Peter's.

On the shores of the western hemisphere nearest to Europe the first conspicuous landmark which from the Atlantic meets the traveller's eye are the lofty towers of a Catholic cathedral. Over Newfoundland, the outpost of the North American continent, the British flag flies, so that branch of the Catholic Church which set up the massive edifice crowning the heights above the Narrows of St. John's is not within the jurisdiction of the fathers, who are this month celebrating the centennial of their hierarchy at Baltimore, in the city that took its name from the first Governor of this colony, and thence, as we travel on the main land westward for 3,000 miles till the Pacific is reached, the ecclesiastical provinces into which the vast Dominion of Canada is divided are in the same case. A passing glance, therefore, must suffice for these most interesting organizations with their marked distinctive features.

The Roman Catholic Church claims one-half of the population of Newfoundland, and they to a man are of Irish extrac-

tion. The French rivals of these much-enduring fisher-folk are also Catholics, but they are only summer itinerants on the French shore which they occupy under treaty right, and at the close of the codfishing season they retire to their islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon or even recross the Atlantic to Brittany for the winter. Consequently there is not one French priest in the island. The clergy who work under that wise and amiable Irishman Bishop Power of St. John's and his colleagues have no sinecure. Excepting on the peninsula of Avalon, the interior of Newfoundland is uninhabited, and the clergy have to minister to a population scattered over a rock-bound coast along which fogs and icebergs are a daily peril of their parochial voyages. These serfs of a harsh truck-system, though Ireland is there fatherland, are totally unlike the Irish immigrants, who are one of the largest elements of the population throughout Greater Britain, such as are largely represented in Toronto and other dioceses of Upper Canada.

On the way to French Canada a little settlement is passed near the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence which deserves a word of mention. The counties of Pictou and Antigonish on the north coast of Nova Scotia resemble the province of Quebec in the fact that a considerable proportion of their inhabitants can speak no English. French, however, is not their tongue but Gaelic, and among them are found a probably greater number of Gaelic-speaking Catholic Highlanders than in the whole of Scotland.

The fair province which skirts the waters of the St. Lawrence was called by Frontenac and the founders of Quebec "La nouvelle France," but Quebec has survived the old *régime* whose impress she bears, and now is the only bit of "La vieille France" that the world contains—"La vieille France in its most refined, Catholic, and devout age," as Cardinal Manning once wrote to me. There are quiet towns in France such as Laon and Soissons, which outwardly have an old-world look, but in the beautiful cathedrals of the old twin cities of l'Aisne the clergy and the Suisses are oftenest the only men who assist at High

Mass. At Quebec, the most nobly planted city of the western hemisphere, all is different. The Church is omnipresent. The view of the grey buildings seen from one's windows takes one back to the beginning of the last century, and the sight of a daily newspaper scarcely removes the illusion, for the little French journal under its "Faits divers" announces a miracle which took place last week in a neighboring village, and in an official column advertises the sentence of excommunication read on Sunday by the curé of St. Joseph at Lévis upon a luckless couple who have been defying Divine law and human conventionality.

Even the pastimes of the faithful are fashioned according to the *ancien régime*, or, at all events, certain modern forms of amusement are strictly banned. The Governor-General is in residence at his summer quarters, and the maidens of Quebec implore for a dispensation for a ball at the Citadel. All in vain: they are sternly referred to the official manual on *Les danses et les bals*, a grim little tract which commences with the severe proposition that "La danse et les bals, comme ils se font ordinairement, sont un scandale et un danger," and under the heading of "Les danses immodestes" they may read "sont réputées telles les danses modernes connues sous les noms de Valse, Polka, Galop, Cancan et autres semblables." It must not from this be imagined that the last named of these "danses vives" is a usual feature of the programmes of viceregal or other polite festivities in Canada, and why the good curé of N.D. de Quebec should have bracketed it with the other less volatile measures is a mystery. Perhaps the Highland reel was danced in Lord Lorne's time, and was mistaken for it; but this is only conjecture. At all events the maidens of Quebec refuse to be consoled with the historical fact that Madame de Maintenon never danced the polka.

The Church in Lower Canada not only regulates the lives and occupations of the people, but it directs the politics of the province. That it represents no mere faction is shown by the attitude of the Federal Parliament at Ottawa whenever the

Provincial Assembly legislates on the Church's behalf. The Jesuits' Estates Bill gives 400,000 dollars out of the treasury to the Church in compensation for the property of the society which escheated to the government subsequent to the suppression of the Order by Clement XIV. The powerful Orange lodges of Ontario have set the country ablaze with an agitation this year, which has swept out of sight commercial union, the fisheries, and every other Canadian question, urging the Dominion Parliament to recommend the veto of the bill. But Sir John Macdonald, our Canadian Premier, himself an Orangeman, is the astutest statesman on the American continent, and he knows that in French Canada the Church and the people are one and indivisible. Hence in the Parliament at Ottawa, with its Protestant majority in a house of over 200 members, only thirteen could be found to vote for the disallowance of the bill.

Amid the bitter strife of creeds the Cardinal Archbishop of Quebec maintains the respect and confidence of the Protestant minority of the province (which includes most of the wealthy and educated of the border city of Montreal), so much so that it has been seriously suggested in Protestant quarters that for the protection of the minority it would be advantageous if representative institutions in Quebec were abolished, and the government of the province invested in Cardinal Taschereau. The Jesuits have great influence in Lower Canada, and they are not universally beloved among their co-religionists, but the hold which both the person and the office of the Archbishop of Quebec has upon the affection and imagination of the populace is daily made manifest. The scene on the day of the installation of the Cardinal after his return from Rome, whither he had been summoned to receive the scarlet hat, was most memorable, when, amid the roar of artillery and the clang of bells, he gave from the balcony of the Basilica the benediction to the kneeling multitude.

Cardinal Taschereau is not a man of the people, as are some of his most capable suffragans and colleagues. Monseigneur

Duhamel, the able and refined Archbishop of Ottawa, is a fine example of the best type of *habitant*, a Canadian in everything, even to the pronunciation of his native language. The Cardinal, on the other hand, is a courtly French prelate of the last century. A visit at the old palace is a ceremony of some solemnity. The Vicar-General Père Legaré with graceful urbanity welcomes the visitor in a sumptuous chamber hung with the portraits of the occupants of the see of Quebec for more than two hundred years, beginning with Laval and St. Vallier, till the Cardinal enters, in his robes of scarlet and violet. For an hour the dignified old man discourses in the stately French of the last century, which seems alive again. At one moment his talk is of the decadence of the times, the perniciousness of modern literature, but it sounds as if a prelate of old France were deprecating the growing license of the more recent works of the author of the *Henriade* or lamenting that Crébillon's dramas were supplanting the masterpieces of Racine. The only inharmonious note is the modern costume of the Cardinal's visitor: for the rest the scene is such as is sometimes portrayed on the walls of the Salon—it is *Une audience chez son Éminence sous Louis Quinze.*

I have lingered too long in the fascinating region of Quebec, but Cardinal Taschereau will be referred to again in connection with Cardinal Gibbons, so it is as well to give some slight impression of the head of the mother Church of America and of his surroundings.

The Church in Ontario has been mentioned, so, hastening westward, we will not pause until the great lakes are passed and Winnipeg is reached. A few years hence Manitoba may be as populous as Illinois, but at present the work of the Church is chiefly missionary in its character. Archbishop Taché's suffragans are Frenchmen, not French Canadians, and there is a vast dissimilarity between the domestic *habitants* of Quebec and the half-breed Métis of the Northwest, who are by degrees giving way to immigrant settlers from every nation of Europe. Still further westward we go to the Foothills of the Rockies,

where the venerable Père Lacombe is ending his days among the Indians who call him father. The prairies are left behind and the fastnesses of the mountains are entered. The Canadian Pacific cars thunder through the passes twice a day, but ten years ago they had been trodden by the feet of no white men, with one exception. As the train winds through the magnificent valley of the Fraser, here and there on mountain tops may be seen, black against the sky, a rude cross which marks an Indian burying-ground, consecrated in these solitudes by the missionaries of Rome.

The passage over English territory from Atlantic to Pacific is highly interesting as displaying the varied capabilities and characteristics of the two greatest organizations the world has ever seen—the British Empire and the Church of Rome. At each stage of the journey the Church Universal is seen justifying its title of Catholicity by its adaptabillity to the nature and the needs of each varying community. The Dominion of Canada federated under the British flag, presents within its limits differences almost as marked as those which distinguish from one another the States of Europe. The Church of Rome observes precisely the same ritual, framed in identical language, for a little band of Blackfeet Indians kneeling in a log-hut in the far west, as it uses for a French congregation in the Basilica at Quebec or for the Irish immigrants who worship in Toronto Cathedral; but the Church in Lower Canada differs in mode of thought and manners of its members as widely from the Church in Ontario as do the Catholic Catalonians of Barcelona from the Catholic Flemings of Antwerp. Within a few hours' journey from Vancouver in the west and from Montreal in the east a frontier is crossed beyond which an entirely different state of things is found. The American nation, though sprung from sources more heterogeneous than those of the inhabitants of the Dominion, are completely homogeneous in language, in sentiment, and in economy of life. The New York millionaire, the Texan ranche-man, the farmer of Vermont, or the planter of Louisiana is above all things a citizen of the

United States whether his ancestors were British or Batavian, Teutonic or Scandinavian, whether his religion be Papist or Presbyterian, Episcopalian or Methodist, and the members of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the Union are stamped with unmistakable national characteristics as were the base-ball-playing seminarists in the Pamphilj Doria gardens.

Almost fifty years have passed since Macaulay wrote: "There is not and there never was on earth a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church." In the interval, the Holy See has lost its sovereignty over a strip of Italian territory: the troops of the Empire which was the bastard offspring of the French Revolution no longer garrison the Castle of St. Angelo, but the Church, if it has lost the temporal sway of a province, has gained spiritual dominion all over the face of the earth, and that by the indirect agency of the chief Protestant race of the world.

That the Anglo-Saxon is the most vigorous race which the world has ever seen is shown by the ease with which it is imposing the English language on all peoples with which it intermingles—not by conquest, as in the case of some of the Roman colonies, not by penal coercion, as in that of the French Huguenots at the Cape, whose language was stamped out by the Boers, but simply by contact. The American nation affords the great exemplification of this process. In the British Empire it is being carried out, though less conspicuously, but in the United States, where probably less than one-half of the inhabitants are of purely British descent, it is so complete that the grandchildren of Germans who spoke no word of English will talk to an Englishman of the Elizabethan literature as "our common inheritance." It may be urged that the Irish Catholics have done as much as the Anglo-Saxons in making English the *lingua franca* of half the world's surface. This is in a sense true, but the Irish are not, strictly speaking, a colonizing race. The Irish like the Germans, are splendid settlers, and Greater Britain would have been a comparatively small domain without their prolific aid; but since the days

when Spain and Portugal made South America a Catholic continent, the Anglo-Saxon race alone has founded colonies successfully. The Catholic countries of Europe have ceased to colonize, but the Church of Rome has not suffered thereby. Such is her marvellous vitality and energy that in these last fifty years she has made progress in English-speaking countries, which perhaps in the end will be of greater moment than all her previous achievements, establishing herself in the newest colonies founded by Protestant England, and extending her sway within that part of the North American continent which two centuries earlier was colonized by Protestant Englishmen.

Mr. Gladstone has been taken to task, it is difficult to see why, for his recent prediction in Paris, that a century hence the American nation will be "the great organ of the powerful British tongue." We are all hopeful for the future of the British Empire, but the future of the British Empire is fraught with anxious uncertainty, whereas the pathway of the American Republic is unobstructed and clear, and it seems to be humanly certain that in less than a hundred years' time it will be the most populous civilized nation of the world, and the greatest in material prosperity. Its difficulties ahead, which are remarked by its men of foresight and by outside critics, are not such as are likely to interfere with either of those consummations. Mr. Gladstone's estimate of the population of the United States a century hence was 600,000,000. Although we are familiar with similar prodigious figures in reference to the teeming hordes of the Chinese Empire, it is almost impossible to grasp the idea of myriads in connection with Western civilization, still less of such numbers being gathered together in one nation, speaking our own English language. If the greatness of nations is to be gauged merely by population and commercial prosperity, there can be no doubt that America is fated to take the foremost place among nations, but it will only be set up in that high place when the peoples of the Old World, with their literature and historic traditions, shall have abdicated their position by

consenting to the doctrine that numbers and material wealth alone constitute the greatness of a State.

In the relations of the Roman Catholic Church to the American nation we have, then, one of the most interesting phenomena it is possible to conceive—the contact of the most venerable and powerful organization of the old order with the most advanced and prosperous community of the new. In all the varied history of the Church of Rome she has never had the experience which in the United States she has encountered during the hundred years since the establishment of the American hierarchy. In the Old World the old civilization has grown up side by side with her, and there is no page of the history of Europe which is not marked with the Fisher's seal. Nor has her activity been confined to the civilized places of the earth. On virgin soil she has worked with self-denying enterprise in every quarter of the globe, and the early history of the remoter parts of the great American continent is the record of the Jesuit fathers and the other missionary pioneers of Rome. But in the United States the Church finds itself in the midst of a new civilization, of the highest type as regards the diffusion of education and material comfort through all classes, though imperfect by reason of the nation never having passed through the discipline of youth to its precocious manhood, since in America there has been no slow development from barbarism through mediævalism to a ripe civilization. The Church which in the Old World has assisted at the birth and death of empires and principalities—crowning kings, upsetting dynasties, and hastening revolutions—here in the New World, amid a transplanted society, knows nothing of treaties and frontiers, nothing of wars of succession and State intrigue. It is in America that she seems to have the greatest opportunity of realizing the admonition of her Founder, "Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo."

Americans of culture frequently lament that theirs is not a land of lofty ideals. Perhaps no nation—as a nation—has

a high ideal; but in England and France and Germany (though this is no golden age of literature) we have teachers who take us out of the traffic of the market-place. In America, unfortunately, literature seems almost to have come to an end. The brilliant band of New Englanders, most of whom came out from Harvard College, has nearly disappeared, and few successors are forthcoming. The blight which has fallen on American authorship seems like a nemesis for the iniquitous copyright laws, which are a remarkable expression of the lack of moral sense of the nation. The Church of Rome has a new experience in exerting her influence among this too shrewd, too practical, too prosperous people, the most characteristic offspring of the nineteenth century. Men may disapprove the methods of the Catholic Church and discredit her beliefs, but few will deny that her ideal is the most perfect ever set before the human race.

The American nation, again, is lacking in tradition. The soil of the United States—or, at all events, a portion of it—has an independent history of a hundred years, but the mass of the people only inherit it by adoption. American art seems to have exhausted itself in pictorial representations of Generals Burgoyne and Lord Cornwallis in humiliating situations; but few of the ancestors either of the painters of historical pictures or of the patriots who deliver Fourth of July orations bled in the Revolutionary War on the side of the colonists. When the capitulations at Saratoga and Yorktown took place, they were passing their boyhood as compatriots of Robert Emmet, and hearing how Lord Edward Fitzgerald had been wounded by the American rebels at Eutaw Springs, or were watching the last days of their monarch, Frederick the Great, and growing up to be the foes of the French allies of young America.

These are some of the attributes which the Church of Rome has to bestow upon the American nation. In return, that great people is investing the Church with an endowment of greater magnitude than the most hopeful enthusiast for the

spread of the Roman Catholic religion ever dreamed of, and one which is likely to revolutionize Christendom. Of all the languages of Europe which have influenced civilization, English, for historical causes, has been spoken by fewer Roman Catholics than any other tongue. English-speaking Catholics have been a comparatively small body, the majority of whom, as recently as half a century ago, were persons actually born in Ireland. The growth of the American nation, as the largest organ of the English language, is completely changing the position of our tongue among the millions who follow the faith of Rome. The expansion of England in her colonies is assisting towards this remarkable issue, but the United States is the chief instrument in bringing about the result, which men of this generation will live to see, of the Church of Rome having a greater number of its active members speaking English than any other living language.

As it is impossible to treat of one of the great influences which regulate the conduct of a nation without expressing some opinion upon the people, I should like, though perhaps needlessly, to disclaim any spirit of censoriousness in my necessarily imperfect observations. Americans are said to be hyper-sensitive with regard to English criticism, and small wonder if they are so, considering the *de haut en bas* tone assumed by many of our countrymen when speaking or writing about American institutions. It is true that there is a small section of American society which, by its singular admiration for, and imitation of, what is least laudable in English manners and customs, lays itself out as the object of British patronizing airs, but the unworthier forms of Anglomania do not count for much in a population of sixty millions. There are no people on the face of the earth who are more willing than are Americans to discuss with outsiders their own foibles and to listen with generous endurance to strictures upon them, provided their critics approach the subject as amateurs of human nature, and not with that air of superiority which may be the secret of England's greatness, but

which also is the secret of our being the best-hated nation in the world.

My impression is that Americans are much less tolerant of criticism from their countrymen than from strangers. Bishop Potter's sermon on the hundredth anniversary of Washington's inauguration, which came like a warning peal of thunder amid the crackle of the centennial fireworks, was received as a thunderstorm would be by a holiday crowd assembled for a pyrotechnic exhibition. Mr. Henry James, it is said, would, if recognized at Schenectady, receive at the hands of the survivors of the family of Mr. Ezra B. Miller a reception similar to that experienced at Tarascon by a luckless *commis voyageur*, who registered his name at the "Empereurs" as A. Daudet, and was chivied to the station and almost into the Rhone by the outraged comrades of the immortal Tartarin. Mr. Matthew Arnold — "We still had Thyrsis then" — gave less offence by his own comments on things American that he caused by quoting from Emerson, at the conclusion of his lecture at Boston on the philosopher of Concord, the presumably well-known sentence, "great, intelligent, sensual, avaricious America;" but it was whispered that the culture of Massachusetts, which is said to be in the habit of murmuring snatches of Emerson in its sleep, actually did not recognize the passage as an excerpt from their master.

In the early spring of 1887, when the students of the American College were playing their national game in sight of the Vatican, grave events were taking place within its walls, in the interest of the Catholic Church in the United States. Cardinal Gibbons was in Rome. In the June of the previous year he had been created cardinal, and his presence, for the purpose of being invested with his title and the red berretta, was causing the liveliest curiosity among the American tourists wintering in the Holy City. There was a lady from Chicago (Chicago people declared that she came from St. Louis) whose gratification at having seen the new Cardinal knew no bounds. "He is one of the most intelligent of our

citizens," she remarked, "and is the author of the best book about Rome, anyway, and I am going right away to the store in the Piazza di Spagna, to see if they have gotten a Tauchnitz copy of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*"

To stimulate the taste for bibliography of his western compatriots was not, however, even the ulterior object of Cardinal Gibbons's visit to Rome. On the 7th of June, 1886, two scarlet hats were assigned to North America, the head of the Canadian hierarchy being called to the Sacred College on the same day as the Primate of the United States. Some months later an event unprecedented in the history of Christendom took place when two princes of the Church crossed the Atlantic Ocean in one vessel. The voyage together of the two cardinals on the French packet from New York to Havre was a most dramatic situation, inasmuch as one of them was about to make his official visit to Rome the occasion for moving the Congregation of the Holy Office to rescind a decree which it had pronounced at the instance of the other. The archiepiscopal travelling companions surely never found themselves in such a remarkable position: regarding one another with sentiments of affectionate respect, equal in their loyalty to the Church, and of equal authority in her councils, summoned to Rome to receive the highest reward in her gift (save the triple tiara), these powerful chiefs of neighboring hierarchies were about to approach the Holy Office with petitions of irreconcilable tenor. The Archbishop of Quebec's mission was an easier one than that of the Archbishop of Baltimore. Cardinal Taschereau had only to advise the Supreme Congregation to follow out tradition by adhering to a delivered judgment. Cardinal Gibbons had undertaken the prodigious task of moving the Holy See to go back upon its own decision.

A month before the two Archbishops were created Cardinals, there was read in all the churches of Lower Canada the following 'mandement,' issued by Monseigneur Taschereau:—

Having learned that the delegates of a society known as the Knights of Labor have tried to recruit members in parts of this province, we deem it our duty, brethren, to put you on your guard against it, and mark, we do

not speak in our own name, but in that of the Holy See, whose advice we have sought. In October 1885 we sent to Rome an authentic copy of the rules and constitutions of that society. The Congregation of the Holy Office, having examined them with all due precaution, sent us this answer, which should be for you an absolute rule of conduct, and keep you away from the Society of the Knights of Labor:—"On account of the principles, organization and statutes of the Knights of Labor, that association is to be relegated among those which are prohibited by the Holy See."

Archbishop Gibbons at once grasped the importance of this proceeding. He summoned to Baltimore a Commission of the Archbishops of the United States, which decided by ten voices to two that neither justice nor prudence demanded the condemnation of the Knights of Labor, and sixty out of the remaining sixty-three bishops expressed the same opinion. The two Archbishops who voted for condemnation are prelates of exemplary piety, but neither of them can be considered to be in touch with the modern movement. One of them, the venerable Archbishop of St. Louis, was consecrated to that see half a century ago, when the Missouri was the boundary of the far west, remote from civilization. The other, the Spanish Archbishop of Santa Fé, has for his diocese the wild territory of New Mexico, which supports only thirty-six secular priests, nearly all of whom are Spaniards or Mexicans.

In February 1887, after Cardinal Gibbons's arrival in Rome he presented to Cardinal Simeoni, the Prefect of the Propaganda, a memorandum which is one of the most statesmanlike documents ever penned by an American, and which takes a much wider scope of the questions involved than the mere consideration of the legality of any given organization. A few quotations translated from this lengthy memorial must suffice. The Cardinal, with thoroughly American sentiment, remarks that an organization the head of which has been called into conference by the President of the United States cannot be deemed hostile to authority. He then declares that the power of monopolies in America has made organized opposition necessary, and that "it is not only the right of the workingmen to protect themselves, but it is the obligation of the entire

people to assist them in finding a remedy for the dangers with which civilization and social order are menaced by avarice, oppression, and corruption." Association, he says, is "in harmony with the genius of our country," and he discards as "neither possible nor necessary in our country" the idea of fraternities under the supervision of priests taking the place of purely industrial organizations wherein Catholics and Protestants meet on a common footing, which intermingling constitutes no danger to religion; "the only grave danger would arise from the alienation of her children from the Church, which nothing would occasion more certainly than imprudent condemnation." After some remarks on the ethics of strikes and the uselessness of hoping that violence can always be avoided in them, the Cardinal proceeds:—

It is the part of Christian prudence to convert into a legitimate, peaceful, and beneficial competition that which a course of repellent severity would turn into a latent volcano such as society fears and the Church deplores in Europe. On this point I strongly insist because my intimate acquaintance with the social condition of our country profoundly convinces me that we are face to face with a question which not only concerns the rights of the working classes, who ought to be specially dear to the Church sent by our Divine Master to preach the gospel to the poor, but one which involves the most fundamental interests of the Church and of human society in the future. Every one who ponders well the ways along which Divine Providence is guiding contemporary history must recognize the important part which the power of the people is playing and will play. . . . Hitherto our country has presented the picture of true democracy seeking the general prosperity by means of sound principles and social order. To preserve this admirable state of things it is absolutely necessary for religion to remain in possession of the affections of the multitude. As Cardinal Manning has well said, "In the future era the Church will have to deal not with Princes and Parliaments but with the masses." . . . Of all the glorious titles earned by the Church there is none which gives it greater influence than that of Friend of the People. Surely in our democratic nation this is the title which is winning for the Catholic Church not only the enthusiastic devotion of millions of her children, but the respect and admiration of all our citizens whatever their religious belief. . . . As the great questions of the future will not be those of war, of commerce, or of finance, but social questions which relate to the bettering of the condition of the masses, it is of sovereign importance for the Church to be found invariably and firmly ranged on the side of humanity.

The memorial concludes with an eloquent recapitulation of the dangers the Church will incur if she adheres to "the easy course" of condemning this labor organization, not the least being "the accusation of being 'unamerican,' that is to say, foreign to our national sentiment—the most powerful arm the enemies of the Church can direct against her." The Holy See will be regarded not as a paternal power but as an unjust and tyrannical authority, while the social agitation will last as long as there are ills to remedy. The forms of organization are necessarily only temporary. To strike at one of them would be to embark upon a war without system and without end. The American people regard with calm the progress of the social struggle, and "to speak out with the frankness imposed on me by my office, both prudence suggests and the dignity of the Church demands that we should not offer to America an ecclesiastical protection which she neither asks for nor thinks she has need of." As is well known, the result was that Cardinal Gibbons induced the Holy See to take the unprecedented course of revoking a sentence which had been recorded on the representation of the Primate of another hierarchy, a re-decision which appears the more remarkable the more the Cardinal's arguments are weighed, revealing as they do an opportunism of a type more advanced and enlightened than the Church has had the credit of sympathizing with.

Near the old manor-house where once lived Charles Carroll, the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the kinsman of John Carroll, the first Catholic bishop in the United States, among the verdant woods and pastures of Maryland stands a college directed by a staff of Sulpician fathers. During one of my visits to Baltimore, one of these good French priests, a Rémois by birth, delighted to see a traveller who was familiar with the vine-clad hills of the Marne, confided to me the contrast he had experienced between the solemn ceremony attending an audience at the Archbishop's Palace at Reims and the kindly welcome the

humblest priest was certain of receiving from the great American Cardinal at his "Residence." The old-fashioned unpretentious house, where a good deal of the world's history is being moulded, would be scorned by one of those sleek preachers of the gospel of sleekness who fatly flourish in certain American cities. For all that, Charles Street, Baltimore, has a dignity which Fifth Avenue will never attain to. Beacon Street, overlooking Boston Common, is in the springtime more beautiful, but there is an air of distinction not found in any other thoroughfare in the United States in the street which takes its name from the royal husband of Henrietta Maria, in whose honor Maryland was named. Baltimore itself was called after an English title which became extinct years before two-thirds of our present peerage existed, and its old world associations are not inappropriate for the headquarters in the new world of the Church which is here initiating a work undreamed of by Cecil Calvert, or the daughter of Marie de' Medici, if the future of their faith ever exercised the minds of those seventeenth-century Catholics.

A walk with the Cardinal through the tranquil streets of the residential quarter of Baltimore gives a vivid impression of the affection with which the Monumental City regards its distinguished son who was baptized and ordained in the Cathedral over which he now presides. Though Maryland is a Roman Catholic stronghold there is a vast Protestant population in its great commercial capital, yet, as the Cardinal passes along, nearly every hat is doffed to the simple citizen who has made a greater impression on European policy than any American of his generation. One day last spring we found ourselves in the midst of a congregation streaming out of a church, the architecture of which the Cardinal drew my attention to, while he responded to the salutations of the crowd. I naturally concluded that they were his own people, but no, he explained, "they are our Episcopalian friends." The determined prelate who was strong enough to lead the Vatican to reverse its own decision has nothing of narrow

arrogance in his gentle nature, which loves to live in charity with all men. In his popular exposition of Catholic doctrine, "Faith of our Fathers," of which nearly two hundred thousand copies have been sold in thirteen years, though it is a controversial work, the Protestant sects are nowhere offensively referred to as heretics or schismatics, but as "my dissenting brethren."

The delicate youthfulness of the Cardinal's countenance makes it difficult to realize that he was a Bishop twenty-one years ago. A year later, when he was only thirty-five, he attended the Œcumenical Council and was one of the minority which voted against the promulgation of the Definition of Infallibility. I have heard him quote the impressive peroration of Cardinal Simor, the Primate of Hungary, in his speech opposing its adoption, "Hannibalis exercitus ad portas Romæ stat; equorum strepitum audio," prophetic words which were uttered a few months before the troops not of a foreign invader but of Victor Emmanuel were at the Porta Pia.

On the question of Church and State the Cardinal holds the view practically universal among Americans of all creeds, that the Church should be absolutely free from State control, and entirely dependent on voluntary support. He relates how, during the Second Empire, he once, on his way from Rome, visited the Bishop of Annecy in Savoy. "I was struck with the splendor of his palace, and saw a sentinel at the door, placed there by the French Government as a guard of honor. But the venerable Bishop soon disabused me of my favorable impressions. He told me he was in a state of gilded slavery; 'I cannot,' said he, 'build a sacristy without the permission of the government.' I never wish to see the day when the Church will invoke or receive government aid to build our churches or to pay our clergy: in proportion as State patronage would increase, the sympathy and aid of the faithful would diminish."

The biographer of Father Damien, with all his sympathy for the Church of Rome, gives, as one reason for his dissent

from her communion, that she discourages the reading of the Bible by the laity, an impression shared by most Englishmen who passed their childhood twenty years ago or more. Mr. Clifford ought to have heard with me a sermon preached last March, of the tenor of which the following extract from the Baltimore *Sun* will give some idea:—

> Cardinal Gibbons preached at the Cathedral yesterday morning the first of the sermons he is going to deliver on Sundays in Lent. His subject was "Reading the Bible," to which he strongly urged his hearers to give some minutes at least every day. After instancing St. Augustine's and other conspicuous conversions, which resulted from hearing passages in the Word of God spoken, he proceeded: "St. Charles Borromeo says, 'The Bible ought to be the garden of the priest.' I say it ought to be the garden of the laity, too. What is good for us is good for you. God forbid we should go to heaven alone. We should be lonely there without you, shepherds without their flocks. We ought not to have a monopoly of religion, holiness, and goodness," &c. &c.

There was one expression in this sermon which struck me, as the Cardinal made use of it more than once, the words, "spiritual profession" in contexts where "priestly office" was the almost obvious phrase and would certainly have been chosen by a Ritualistic curate, as in the sentence, "In season and out of season I am by the apostle bidden to exhort you by virtue of my spiritual profession." His life and teaching are a protest against sacerdotal pretension. On the morning of my last interview with the Cardinal, he had just returned from an Ordination, and he said to me, "I have been warning my young priests not to think that the putting on of a cassock means the putting off of one's humanity," just as in "Faith of our Fathers" he had written, "Should a priest consider himself greater than other men because he exercises such authority? Far from it; he ought to humble himself beneath others when he reflects to what weak hands are assigned such tremendous powers."

As the Cardinal has declared to the laity in the name of the priesthood that "It is our earnest wish that every word of the Gospel may be imprinted on your memory and on your heart,"

it would be a magnificent memorial of the Centenary of the American Hierarchy if the assembled Bishops would move the Holy See to permit them to supervise an American edition of the Bible to supersede the Douay translation. The English Authorized Version has become such an integral portion of English literature that the most powerful Church is handicapped among English-speaking people in not using its phraseology. There are a score or two of passages which would need emendation for doctrinal reasons, but the rest of the *Anglica versio* the Roman Catholic Church might appropriate with great advantage to herself without the surrender of a shred of doctrine. There are hundreds of verses of Holy Scripture and hundreds of Biblical names, which in our authorized form have passed into the everyday language and literature of the people—perhaps to a greater extent in America even than in England: most of the classical passages have precisely identical meanings in their equivalents in the Douay Bible, but in that version they are as uncouth and unfamiliar as are proper names like Achab, Assuerus, Aman, and Mardochai. The Catholic Church in America has adopted one detestable institution from the Protestant churches in England —the pew system, which is as inappropiate in a democratic country as it is inconsistent with the principle of the great Church of the people. Why not restore that Protestant institution to the sole use and enjoyment of American Protestants (for the English Church is discarding it), and take in exchange the noblest translation ever made in the days before translation was a lost art, which is in truth the common heritage of all English-speaking people?

An able writer, quoting Bishop Vaughan of Salford, has recently remarked upon the debt which the Church of Rome owes to the Irish, in whose brogue her services are recited all over the world. Undoubtedly the immigrant Irish have done a great propagandist work, but no graver mistake could be made than that of supposing that the Catholic Church in America is merely a branch of the Church in Ireland. Much

misapprehension as to things American is caused by travellers forming their judgments from what they see in New York, which is emphatically not a microcosm of the United States for the reason that in no other city does the immigrant population remain unassimilated so long. Visitors sometimes leave New York with the idea that the Catholic Church in America is represented by Tammany Hall, on account of the prominence of that institution; but if they went down town to the neighborhood of the Church of St. Antony of Padua, they might equally well imagine that the Church in America is exclusively Italian, and in another quarter they would find German priests serving German congregations. The unceasing flow of immigration makes New York the least American city of the United States; but throughout the Union the grandchildren of men born in Westmeath or in Westphalia are as thoroughly American as are the descendants of the ladies who "refused George Washington," who, from the number of their progeny, must have been more numerous than St. Ursula's virgins at Cologne. Of course, the Irish accent is heard at many a Catholic altar between Boston and Santa Barbara. The first church I entered in the United States was the Cathedral at San Francisco, where the preacher was a fair-haired young priest, with the face of an angel and a brogue which carried one from the Golden Gate to the Cove of Cork; but the vicar-general of the diocese, who is a member of the old Irish family of Prendergast, is as polished an American gentleman as is Archbishop Corrigan of New York, or Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia, both of whom bear Irish names, and neither of whom has any more brogue than has President Harrison who is descended from the Puritan regicide.

Nor must it be imagined that the Catholics of America are in great preponderance Irish, even by descent. Opening at random the clergy list of the United States, I find at the commencement of the letter B the following names: Baak, Baart, Baasen, Babinski, Bachand, Bachmann, Backes,

Badelon, Badilla, Baeumle, Baker—half the nationalities of Europe represented; Dutch, Flemish, Spanish, German, French, Polish, Hungarian, and English, but no Irish name. Of course, if the book had opened at letter O, we might have lighted on a very Irish column, interspersed with a few exceptions, like Oechtering, Oeinck, Offergeld, and Ogulin. The list is instructive as showing the cosmopolitan character both of the American nation and of the Catholic Church. The enumeration of the occupants of the see of New Orleans exemplifies this. French bishops might be looked for in the Creole episcopates of Louisiana, but the present Archbishop of New Orleans is a Dutchman, and his predecessors this century have included Spaniards and a Belgian, as well as Frenchmen.

It should be noted, however, that the nationality of a priest in the United States does not necessarily afford information as to the origin of his congregation, whether he be Irish, German, or of some less numerous race of settlers. The proportion of foreign priests to the Catholic laity is large, on account of the obvious difficulty in obtaining sufficient candidates for a profession which does not offer great pecuniary rewards in a country where material prosperity is the chief aim of life. Two hundred young seminarists singing Tenebræ in the choir of Baltimore Cathedral for this reason struck me as a most interesting spectacle to witness in America. The son of a peasant or of a humble tradesman in Connaught or in Flanders, by taking holy orders, secures high social promotion, and his modest clerical stipend is usually a large advance on the income he would have touched had he followed his father's calling. In the United States there is no peasantry, and the young postulants for the priesthood recruited from all ranks of life are each giving up the chance of acquiring wealth, which is the birthright of every United States citizen. All honor is due to that small section of the manhood of America, whether found among theological students or among professors and teachers at Harvard, Yale and Johns

Hopkins, which voluntarily abnegates a career held in the highest honor, because opulence is its goal, and dedicates itself to a life of relative poverty, for the sake of religion or of sound learning.

Philadelphia, unlike New York, is a typical American commercial city which illustrates the position and progress of the Roman Catholic Church in the Union. Although the estimable Society of Friends is not as relatively strong there as formerly, and though Pennsylvania was in the old days a favorable locality for Catholic settlers, yet the tradition of Philadelphia is decidedly Protestant. For all that, the "Quaker City" contains nearly as many Roman Catholics as the entire population of Rome. It contains more Catholics than the entire population of any other town in Catholic Italy but Naples; of any town in Catholic Spain but Madrid; of any town in Catholic Belgium but Brussels; and of any town in France except Paris and Lyons. Among the great Catholic cities of Europe whose inhabitants are less numerous than the Catholic population of Philadelphia are Milan, Turin, Palermo, Barcelona, Antwerp, Bordeaux and Marseilles. Statements in this form are frequently made to illustrate the vastness of London, but Philadelphia is not even a London on a small scale. It is a characteristic American city of the first rank, larger than any single British municipality in the provinces, but not much larger than Manchester and Salford together with the adjoining townships, and it contains over 300,000 Catholics. The next census will probably show that this figure is considerably below the mark, as the diocese contains 400,000 Catholics, and there is no great centre of population within it outside Philadelphia.

We find that the Roman Catholic Church can claim 10,000,000 United States citizens in a population of 60,000,000, it is difficult to over-estimate the influence which the expansion of the Church in America will have on the future of Christendom. Judging from her past progress and con-

sidering that the two races to which the majority of American Catholics belong are the two most prolific of the white races in the United States, it seems certain that she will increase her proportion with the growth of the population. But, calculating as if she will remain relatively stationary and reducing by one-third the estimated 600,000,000 which it is predicted that the United States will contain in a hundred years' time, the Roman Catholic Church will then claim nearly 70,000,000 English-speaking people in America alone. By that time Australasia, South Africa and Canada will be thickly inhabited. Under what flag those vast regions of the earth will be governed, no one can foretell, but two things are certain—that the English language will be spoken throughout them and that the Church of Rome will maintain the progress she has commenced this century among English-speaking peoples. If every French-speaking person in the world is counted as a devout Catholic, the number of French-speaking Catholics will long before that period be immeasurably below that of the English-speaking Catholics; and the same may be said regarding the Italian and Spanish languages.

Without waiting to realize the forecast that the English tongue is fated to be the chief language of the Roman Catholic church, we may consider some of the effects already produced by the establishment of that religion among the English-speaking people of America. Not the least achievement of that great branch of the Church which is now celebrating the centenary of its hierarchy is that it has saved the Roman Catholic religion from the reproach often heard in Europe that its growth is only found associated with social retrogression and reaction. In France this feeling has relegated religion to the cult of women, children and peasants, and in Ireland alone of European countries is the Church in sympathy with democratic progress.

Some Liberal critics may object that though Cardinal Gibbons may be thoroughly imbued with the Democratic spirit it is not in harmony with the unchanging policy of Rome, which

is hostile to liberty; that the Church may profess the most Liberal doctrine while she is in a minority, but that if she obtained ascendency we might witness an *auto da fé* in Madison Square. Cardinal Gibbons approaches the subject of religious persecution from the other extreme, and is so inspired with the charity which thinketh no evil that he protects the Protestant religions as well as the Catholic from the stigma of having countenanced persecution. In "Faith of our Fathers" he writes, "From my heart I abhor and denounce every species of persecution of which the Spanish Inquisition may have been guilty;" and again in reference to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew he says, "I have no words strong enough to express my detestation of that inhuman slaughter;" but in both instances he denies that the Church was responsible, just as in another passage referring to the proscriptive measures of Protestants against the Church of Rome he says, "I know full well that these acts of cruelty form no part of the creed of the Protestant Churches."

It is to be feared that more skeptical students of history cannot accept the Cardinal's view, and that the truth is that every Church has persecuted when it has had the power and the opportunity, so long as persecution was part of the economy of the religious and political life of the day. Even the Puritans who came to America to escape from the Anglicans who had in turn suffered at the hands of the Catholics did not leave the spirit of persecution behind in Europe, and it is well known how they put to death Quakers and burnt witches alive in their New England settlements. The most enlightened Prince who ever sat on the throne of England, who moreover secured the British constitution and the Protestant succession, consented to the torture and subsequent massacre of Cornelius de Witt for a political offence, just a hundred years after St. Bartholomew. It is absolutely futile to defend or to condemn the religious and political methods of the past by the milder standard of to-day. "Homo homini lupus" is probably as true now as it ever was, but we live in an age of anæsthetics.

The policy of the Church in Spain during the present century may perhaps be cited to show that the spirit of intolerance is not yet dead; but in answer to this it may be pointed out that in modern times churches and religious sects are often in matters of conduct strongly influenced by the atmosphere of the country in which they are placed. For example, a Scotch Presbyterian minister will denounce Sunday amusements as a deadly sin, while a Dutch predicant, holding precisely the same theological tenets, will after morning service spend his Sunday afternoon in the Bosch at the Hague listening to what his Scottish co-religionist would call godless music. Cardinal Gibbons again, in his forthcoming work "Our Christian Heritage," in a chapter on "The Religious Element in our American Civilization," points with pride to the national observance of the Christian Sabbath, which his distinguished colleague in the Sacred College, Cardinal San Felice of Naples, would regard as merely local usage. The most remarkable instance, however, of public opinion moulding the policy of Christian churches used to be found in the United States, when throughout the eleven Slave States of the Union ministers of religion in their own pulpits and assembled in synods, presbyteries and conferences, used to declare "that, as the Great Head of the Church has recognized the relation of master and slave, we conscientiously believe that slavery is not a sin against God." Slavery was abolished; public sentiment accepted the inevitable; and the clergy of the Southern States ceased to take their texts from the Epistle to Philemon.

Cardinal Gibbons's opportunism is not of this description. His denunciation of monopolies in his memorial to the Holy See is as courageous an act in the America of to-day as the denunciation of slavery would have been in the Southern States thirty years ago. The illustrations of the influence exercised by public opinion on religious policy were only given to show that though Spain under a certain *régime* might foster intolerance in the Church, a country like Amer-

ica could find no room for a religion of reactionary tendency, and the fact that the Catholic Church has taken root in that land and is flourishing is the best proof that in the United States she is abreast with the democratic movement and with liberal progress.

If France is the eldest daughter of the Church, America is destined to be her strongest and biggest child, and it will be interesting to watch this youngest daughter maintaining the position she has already secured in the intimate councils of the Church. If the elder branches were well advised they would look to America to provide the Church Universal with a ruler. All the best friends of the Papacy, outside the "Italian ring" which fences it round, are agreed that the time has come when it would be for the highest interest of the Church to break down the tradition of the last three centuries and a half which prescribes that the occupant of St. Peter's chair shall invariably be an Italian. We have seen how the Church has gained a stronger title than ever to its claim of universality, but the constitution of the Sacred College is Italian and not cosmopolitan. The full complement of that august body consists of seventy cardinals. The present number, since the recent death of Cardinal Schiaffino, is sixty-five. Ten of them are Austrian, German, Hungarian and Polish; seven are French; five are British subjects (of whom one is French Canadian); four are Spanish; two Portuguese; one Belgian, and one American: thirty representing all the nationalities of the world, and thirty-five being Italians.

With this Italian preponderance, the other nationalities would have less ground of complaint if at the Vatican there were a corresponding council of state, in which the non-Italian Catholics were represented even in the inadequate proportion of thirty to thirty-five, but the intimate advisers of the Sovereign Pontiff are all Italians, who, with one or two exceptions, can neither read nor speak a word of English. For charm of manner, a polished Italian prelate is unrivalled, but his knowledge of the English-speaking world is that of a

little child. The most accomplished Italian priest, even if he has been occasionally employed on a mission to a Catholic court, has no comprehension of constitutional government, still less is he capable of understanding the democratic movement of the age. The Vatican has a certain aptitude in dealing with "sovereigns and statesmen," to use Lord Beaconsfield's expression, but we have seen how Cardinal Gibbons reminded the Sacred Congregation, on the great authority of Cardinal Manning, that in the coming era the Church will have to treat, not with princes and parliaments, but with the masses of the people.

Although there is no immediate prospect of a vacancy in the Holy See, predictions are constantly being made as to the successor to Leo the Thirteenth. These journalistic prophecies are of no value whatever, excepting from the significant unanimity with which they make the coming Pontiff an Italian. Sometimes the Conservative Vicar-General of the Pope, Cardinal Parocchi, is designated. Sometimes it is the Liberal Archbishop of Naples or the Liberal Patriarch of Venice. Cardinal San Felice is famous for his courageous devotion to the sufferers during the cholera at Naples, when he accompanied King Humbert through the hospitals:—but I remember witnessing a more courageous act on the part of Cardinal Agostini at Venice, when he officiated at the christening by Queen Margherita of an ironclad with the significant name of "Galileo," in the official presence of Signor Crispi, who, on his recent appointment to the ministry of Signor Depretis, had been denounced by the clerical journals as an excommunicate. The election of either the Neapolitan or the Venetian Cardinal would doubtless ensure a *modus vivendi* between the Vatican and the Italian Government, but the Church needs a ruler whose wisdom and enlightenment is capable of dealing with farther-reaching questions than those which relate to the limits of the kingdom of Italy.

It would have been a happy choice for the Church, and one the importance of which it is impossible to exaggerate, if

the Sacred College had in its wisdom selected as its successor to Pius the Ninth the great Cardinal who is at the head of every religious and social movement in this country; but what the Church Universal would have gained, England would have lost. Cardinal Manning occupies a unique place in English history; there is no other instance of an individual exercising similar power and influence in this country, who has not been aided by legislative or official rank. It is probable that the Cardinal is content with his unprecedented position, yet it is strange in these days when much is talked about strengthening the Upper House by giving it a representative character, that no Prime Minister has ever seen fit to advise the offer of a place in it to the eminent Englishman who represents not only all the Catholic population of these islands, but the entire struggling populace of our cities, of every creed, and without a creed. A peerage would confer no dignity or even precedence on Cardinal Manning, as by the Queen's sign manual, he was, on the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, with the assent of the Heir to the Throne, and the present Prime Minister, who were members of it, assigned precedence immediately after the Royal Family. It is a long drop from the chair of St. Peter to a seat in the House of Lords, and there is a certain bathos in associating a modern coronet with the venerable head which might have worn most worthily the triple tiara.

Although Cardinal Manning would have been the most powerful pontiff since Hildebrand, everyone who has the slightest knowledge of feeling on the continent is aware that an English Pope would be placed in a situation of peculiar difficulty on account of his nationality. Italy might object to a French Pope; Portugal might be jealous of a Spanish Pope; but the appointment of an Englishman to the Holy See would excite the animosity and the intrigue of every government on the continent.

The United States stand in a very different relation to the powers of Europe. All the continental nations have a friendly

feeling for America—a sentiment which Americans will retain as long as they steer clear of international complications into which Samoan and Cuban entanglements might draw them. It is to be feared that the friendliness of the continental powers for America is stimulated by the idea that America as a nation has not too much love for Great Britain. Monsignor Keane is said to have recently given at Nashville some reasons why an American should not be elevated to the Papacy. The Rector of the Catholic University at Washington is reported to have stated that "an American, no matter how learned and how well posted in European affairs, is thoroughly unfitted to fill the Papal See. The Pope must be a thorough cosmopolitan. He must be conversant with the political and spiritual conditions of France, Germany and Spain. No American can grasp the situation in all its details. His educational surroundings and life are totally different from that of the man who is fitted to fill the Papacy." Now, it seems to me that the learned Bishop is too modest on behalf of his countrymen. A British traveler who has taken a superficial view of America might come back and declare that the only cosmopolitans to be found in the United States are the American maidens, whose knowledge of the world is undoubtedly as profound as it is amazing. The American politician is rarely a man of the world, but America takes no pride in her politicians; the American man of business frequently looks upon Wall Street as the centre of the universe; and the American man of fashion is a maladroit travesty of an Englishman. But the manhood of America does not wholly consist of such as these. The shrewd American nature is the best foundation for knowledge of the world as soon as it is removed from the narrow horizon of American life to which the Bishop refers. What more thorough cosmopolitans are to be found in any capital of Europe than certain diplomatic representatives of the United States? They have had no advantage in training; they are taken from the lawyer's desk or the professor's chair, yet they are able to hold their own with, and win the admiration

of, the most accomplished products of our old European civilization. It is the success of these men in adapting themselves to unfamiliar surroundings, and in forming confidential relations with statesmen and potentates often denied to *diplomates de la carrière*, which makes one believe that, from the worldly point of view, the highest position in Europe could be worthily filled by an American.

Of the ecclesiastical qualifications of Cardinal Gibbons for the most exalted honor in the Church's gift, it is not for a layman to speak. It is enough that the Holy See has seen fit to set him at the head of one of the most powerful and perhaps the most intelligent hierarchy in the world, and that the Vatican has paid unprecedented respect to his counsel. Of his fitness as a man of affairs and of his knowledge of the world I have had some opportunity of forming a judgment. During many months of travel and residence in the United States and Canada my observations led me to the conclusion that the North American continent has produced in this generation two really great men, in the sense that the last generation accounted Lincoln and Cavour as great. One of them we have the honor of reckoning as a fellow-subject of the Queen, Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister of our Canadian Dominion. The other, the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore, although twenty years his junior, is his equal in marvellous knowledge of men, and, although in some respects of singularly different nature, resembles him in the possession of that lofty opportunism which is the essential of all true statesmanship. Cardinal Gibbons combines the suavity of an Italian monsignore with that ingenuous integrity and robustness which we like to think is the characteristic of our Anglo-Saxon race. If he were called to occupy the most conspicuous and most ancient throne in Christendom he would not go to Europe as a novice in European affairs. To have assisted at an Œcumenical Council at an age when most men are on the threshold of a career is an early training in cosmopolitanism rarely experienced. During the intervening twenty

years the Cardinal's frequent visits to Europe have brought him into contact with some of the acutest intellects of the Old World. Moreover, since his elevation twelve years ago to the head of the hierarchy of the United States he has governed an episcopate and a priesthood which are composed of members of every European nation. His unexampled undertaking two years ago, when, the youngest member of the Sacred College, he prevailed upon the Holy See to reconsider a momentous judgment, was not the achievement of a man whose attributes are merely local and national. The installation in the chair of St. Peter of this enlightened English-speaking Churchman would be an event of such import to human society that one dares not hope to see its accomplishment, for it seems as if it would be the first step towards bringing back to the Church the great democracies which are destined to govern the world, and as if it would hasten the time when "unum ovile fiet et unus pastor."

THE CATHOLIC DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA.

1. *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, Bishop and First Archbishop of Baltimore.* By JOHN GILMARY SHEA. New York: 1888.
2. *History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* By HENRY DE COURCY and JOHN GILMARY SHEA. New York: 1879.
3. *The Faith of Our Fathers.* By JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS, Archbishop of Baltimore. 31st Edition. Baltimore: 1887.
4. *Our Christian Heritage.* By JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS, Archbishop of Baltimore. Baltimore: 1889.
5. *Souvenir Volume of the Centenary Celebration and Catholic Congress.* Detroit: 1890.

It is just half a century since, in the pages of this review, Macaulay wrote his great essay upon the Papacy. The moment of the appearance of that remarkable contribution to ecclesiastical history gives to it now a peculiar value. The year 1840 stands halfway between the French Revolution and the present day, but the changes which have taken place in the world since the commencement of the Victorian era have brought with them greater and swifter alterations in the political status of the Church and in its relations with the peoples of the earth than have occurred not only in the previous half-century, but probably in all the previous ages since the foundation of Christianity.

It would be foreign to our purpose to describe the position of the Roman Catholic Church among the nations fifty years ago. Suffice it to say that in Italy Italian Unity was as yet

an idle dream; Garibaldi was at Montevideo nourishing greater griefs against Charles Albert of Piedmont than against Gregory XVI., who then sat on the Papal throne. Pius IX. was a novice in the Sacred College, created that year Cardinal Archbishop of Imola; the flight to Gaeta and the siege of Rome were yet to come. In England eleven years had elapsed since Catholic emancipation; eleven were to follow before a recrudescence of anti-Papal feeling took shape in the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. The Oxford movement had begun, but Tract XC. had not yet shaken the Establishment. Six years later an event was to take place in the Sister Kingdom of deeper effect on the destiny of the Roman Church than the schemes of legislators or the dialectics of theologians, when the Irish famine drove across the Atlantic almost a nation of emigrants, carrying with them their ancient faith.

It is evident, therefore, that when Macauley wrote that the Church's "acquisitions in the New World have more than compensated for what she has lost in the Old," he could not have anticipated what was about to happen. The illustrious reviewer displayed his foresight when, proceeding to describe how "her spiritual ascendency extends over the vast countries which lie between the plains of the Missouri and Cape Horn," he prophesized that those countries might a century thence contain a population equal to that which then inhabited Europe; but his coupling of South with North America, taken together with his mention of the Missouri Valley (at that time the remotest boundary of civilization), shows that he looked for the growth of Roman Catholicism in the Northern Continent to develop from the settlements of the French and Spanish races from St. Louis to Natchez and New Orleans. Yet even then the Roman hierarchy in the United States, which has just celebrated its centenary, had already reached its jubilee. It is the policy of the Roman Catholic Church to leave nothing to chance. Her claims to Divine institution have never interfered with the perfection of human organization. A stream of migration from Europe to America had

been steadily progressing as the years went by, and as the Church gradually grew in prosperity, so her machinery was strengthened and elaborated. The Irish famine occurred just at the moment when improved means of communication were on the eve of revolutionizing the world, and with the immigration from Ireland came by degrees a population only less vast from Germany. Teuton, no less than Celt, if born in the Roman Church, found raised for him, in the land where he and his children were destined to lose all characteristics of race and nationality, the altars at which he might worship with unchanging and familar rite in the faith of his fathers.

We propose to trace the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, briefly describing how, from a small and quasi-aristocratic sect in a small corner of the British colonies and from a missionary propaganda among the Indian tribes in other portions of the territory now under the American flag, it has developed into one of the most powerful and most democratic religious communities which the world has ever seen, and one which is fated to leave a lasting mark on the history of Christendom. It is not our purpose to recount the romantic story of missionary enterprise and martyrdom among the native races, nor to relate the narrative of the French Canadian settlement which has preserved to this day on British soil the tradition of the ancient regime of Catholic France—picturesque subjects which have found a worthy historian in Parkman, whose glowing pages save his country from the reproach that literature is dead in the United States.

That the first discovery of the American Continent was made by Catholic adventurers—from Cabot and Columbus to Cartier—and possession proclaimed in the name of Catholic monarchs before the sires of the Pilgrim Fathers were born is common knowledge. It is a matter of uncertainty to identify the spot on the territory now included in the United States where the sacraments of the Church were first administered, and it is not for us to decide whether Ponce de Leon's

followers first said Mass on the shores of Florida or whether it was first celebrated under the flag of France on an island off the coast of Maine thenceforth known as Sainte Croix. It was not, however, on French or on Spanish soil that the foundations of the English-speaking Catholic Church in America were laid, but in a British settlement lying halfway between Maine and Florida, when, in 1634, Leonard Calvert, by right of the charter granted to his father—Lord Baltimore—sailed up the Potomac and named the colony Maryland in honor of King Charles's Catholic queen.

We have before us two volumes which contain substantial groundwork for a history of Roman Catholicism in the United States. One of them—the "Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll," by Mr. John Gilmary Shea—admirably carries out the promise of its title-page, which describes the work as embracing the history of the Catholic Church in the United States from 1735 to 1815, the span of life of the remarkable personage who was the first bishop of the American hierarchy. As we have little but praise to bestow upon this valuable contribution to national and ecclesiastical history, we may be permitted to express our candid opinion upon the other, seeing that half the authorship of the "History of the Catholic Church in the United States" is ascribed to Mr. Shea. It is possible that he may have supplied some of the material used in the volume; it is difficult to believe that so learned and conscientious a writer can have had any share in the compilation of this ill-printed, ill-arranged, ill-written book. Hidden among pages of trivial narrative related in pitiable English, there are to be found the undoubted results of labor and research, but their discovery is a painful task. The authors' style may be judged from their use of the word "deformer" as a humorous method of spelling "reformer," or from their italicising a Congressman's prefix of "Honorable" when they wish in sarcasm to show their disapproval of his conduct. If the work is intended to rank as a serious history, the introduction of this

kind of thing is an affront to the intelligent public of America; if it is intended as a popular manual, we would point out that writers on great subjects are in duty bound to endeavor to raise the tone of the audience they address. Considerable space is devoted to an exposure of slanderous libels uttered by worthless enemies of the Church, but we doubt if the bitterest Orangeman in the Union ever published worse libels than the portraits which in this volume are made to represent certain venerable prelates. In the United States—of all countries in the world—there is no excuse for adorning the cheapest of editions with gross illustrations. Mr. Shea's Life of the Archbishop, which is, however, a comparatively costly work, is illustrated with remarkable skill, and the pictures and facsimiles which accompany the letterpress are in many instances of high interest.

Before the Revolution, in only two of the colonies of Great Britain now included in the United States was the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion permitted—in the feudal settlements of Maryland and Pennsylvania. The first Lord Baltimore, towards the end of the reign of James I., had, on abjuring Protestantism, given up his offices under the Crown and accepted a grant of territory in Newfoundland. After his efforts to settle that portion of the island known as Avalon he migrated to Virginia, where he found a difficulty in the oath of the king's supremacy which was required of settlers in that loyal colony.

"Then it was that Lord Baltimore solicited a charter which would permit the Catholics to practise their worship undisturbed in one spot on the shores of America. His request was granted and Maryland was ceded to him, subject only to the yearly homage of two Indian arrows, and the payment into the royal exchequer of one-fifth of the gold and silver drawn from the mines. Lord Baltimore died in 1632, at the very moment when this charter was issuing. His eldest son, Cecil Calvert inherited his rights, but he had not the energy to direct the expedition in person, and to Leonard Calvert, second son of George, Lord Baltimore, is due the honor of having founded Maryland."

It was on the Feast of the Annunciation 1634 that two little vessels, the "Ark" and the "Dove," sailed up the noble

estuary of the Potomac—familiar to many English travellers who have gazed upon the wooded landscape stretching over the States of Virginia and Maryland from the summit of the lofty obelisk which is reared behind the White House, or who have gone down-stream from Washington on a pilgrimage to Mount Vernon, the home of the hero of American Independence. Two hundred families were on board, most of them Catholic refugees from the penal laws of the old country, and, when they landed, their first act among the trees on the river-side was to hear Mass said and the Litany of the Cross by Father White, one of those restless, energetic English Jesuits of Continental training who played a most active part in the History of England till the last struggle was ended for the Stuart dynasty. Lord Baltimore had entrusted the charge of his Maryland settlers to this zealous priest and to another member of the Order, about whose name there is some uncertainty, as those were the days—which were to continue for many a year—when a succession of names and a series of disguises were of necessity part of the paraphernalia of every Jesuit father. We shall soon see the great share which members of the Society of Jesus had in establishing and strengthening the Catholic faith in the American Republic a century and a half later.

The Catholic founders of Maryland openly proclaimed the liberty of Christian worship in the colony at a time when the Roman Catholic religion was rigorously repressed by every Protestant government in Europe, and by all the other English colonies in America, for Pennsylvania was not founded until nearly half a century later. The great Protestant historian of the United States—Mr. Bancroft—bears testimony to this magnanimous policy where he describes how "the Catholics took quiet possession, and religious liberty obtained a home—its only home in the wide world—at the humble village which bore the name of St. Mary's. . . . The Roman Catholics who were oppressed by the laws of England were sure to find a peaceful asylum in the quiet

harbors of the Chesapeake, and there, too, Protestants were sheltered against Protestant intolerance."

The authors of "The Catholic Church in the United States" refuse to give to the Calverts and their followers any credit for their principles of toleration:—

"To gain entrance to Lord Baltimore's vast domains was necessary to believe in the divinity of Christ; but if, even with this restriction, the conduct of the founders of Maryland is the object of so much eulogy in America, we must claim our right to hesitate in joining in it. . . . When a State has the happiness of possessing unity of religion, and that religion the truth, we cannot conceive how the government can facilitate the division of creeds. Lord Baltimore had seen too well how the English Catholics were crushed by the Protestants as soon as they were the strongest and most numerous; he should have foreseen that it would be so in Maryland, so that the English Catholics, instead of finding liberty in America, only changed their bondage. Instead, then, of admiring the liberality of Lord Baltimore, we prefer to believe that he obtained his charter from Charles I. only on the formal condition of admitting Protestants on an equal footing with Catholics."

It is difficult to conceive that these words were written in the United States of America, by American citizens, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is fortunate for Catholicism that the sagacious chiefs of the American hierarchy have not shared this regret that the Roman Catholic Church was not established in perpetuity as a local sect, instead of having become, by their wise policy, working freely in a free country, the most powerful religious community in the most prosperous nation of the world. Supposing that the founders of the Republic had favored this idea of local sectarianism and that America had become a nation notwithstanding, would these historians, for the sake of preserving Catholic uniformity in Maryland, submit to arrest on crossing the Potomac at Harper's Ferry because the State of Virginia required subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles? Would they like to read in the Philadelphia "Ledger" how a Quaker and his wife from Pennsylvania had been hanged by the Independents on Boston Common as the penalty of a little tour in Massachusetts, which Puritan State, under the policy

they decry, now contains three-quarters of a million of Catholics? Would they consider it agreeable for the summer crowds which throng the Newport beach to be forcibly baptized by immersion, according to the Rhode Island creed?

It is the great glory of the Catholic Church in the United States that it has never been a persecuting body, and those blind guides who regret that in her early days she did not vie with the colonizing Protestant sects in their intolerance must be Catholics of that retrograde type of mind who in Continental Europe have made Roman Catholicism synonymous with reaction, against the spirit of which the enlightened cardinal now at the head of the American hierarchy has waged at least one bold and successful fight. These regretful admirers of an intolerant exclusiveness justify their sentiments by the sufferings undergone by the Maryland Catholics in consequence of Lord Baltimore's liberal policy, but we believe that the present position in Christendom of the Catholic Church in America is in no small measure due to the generous tradition of its earliest home in Maryland, "the cradle of civil and religious liberty," and also that the harsh discipline of a century produced a sturdier race of faithful sons to uphold the Church in the young republic.

"Maryland was the abode of happiness and liberty," says the venerable Bancroft; "conscience was without restraint. A mild and liberal proprietary conceded every measure which the welfare of the colony required: domestic union, increasing immigration, a productive commerce, a fertile soil which heaven had richly favored with rivers and deep bays, united to perfect the scene of colonial felicity." In order to further the interests of this settlement Lord Baltimore even urged Puritans of Massachusetts to migrate to Maryland, offering them lands, privileges and religious freedom. There, in 1649, the Catholic majority of the General Assembly of the colony passed the famous 'Act concerning Religion,' which Cardinal Gibbons, in contrast to our quoted utterance of his timorous fellow-citizens of the laity, describes as a "noble statute," and

one "which will reflect unfading glory on that State as long as liberty is cherished in the hearts of men." It runs:—

"Whereas the enforcing of conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and unity amongst the inhabitants, no person whatsoever within this province professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be anyways troubled or molested for his religion, nor in the free exercise thereof, nor anyway compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against his consent."

If the grim and narrow religious tests of the New England governments be compared with the Maryland profession of Christianity it will not be a matter of wonder that the Protestant historian we have quoted, himself a New Englander, declared that here "Conscience was without restraint."

The same eminent writer proceeds to describe how the disfranchised friends of prelacy from Massachusetts, and the Puritans from Virginia, were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights in Roman Catholic Maryland, and he tells the shameful story how, five years later, when the Puritans gained the ascendancy in the colony, they had neither the gratitude to respect the rights of the government by which they had been hospitably received, nor the magnanimity to continue the toleration which alone had enabled them to reside in Maryland. It was now the turn of the Puritan majority to pass "an Act concerning religion," which forbade liberty of conscience to be extended to "Popery, prelacy or licentiousness of opinion."

Nearly forty years later this contraband "prelacy" became predominant, and in 1692 the Assembly established the Anglican Church in Maryland, erecting parishes throughout the colony, and levying a tax on all citizens for the support of the clergy, and in 1704 was passed "an Act to prevent the increase of Popery in the province," which *inter alia* enabled a child born of Catholic parents, on becoming a Protestant, to exact from its father in his lifetime the share of his property which would otherwise devolve upon it after his death. Roman

Catholics henceforward for seventy years were only permitted to hear mass in their own families within their own grounds. Subsequently the Assembly voted that Papists should pay double the tax levied upon Protestants, and oppression became so burdensome that Daniel Carroll, the father of the first American bishop, sailed to France to negotiate with Louis XV. the emigration of the Maryland Catholics to Louisiana, but the most Christian king declined the offer, having no ambition concerning his Mississippi domains, soon to be ceded to Spain.

We must not pause to describe the small accession to the Catholic community by the arrival of a small band of Acadians after the deportation from Nova Scotia in 1756 of the French peasant community, an episode which has been related with such picturesque pathos by Longfellow in 'Evangeline' that the equally distinguished son of Harvard, Parkman, has suggested that the poet's fancy mistook Acadia for Arcadia. Nor can we dwell upon the domestic life of the Marylanders, which, by reason of the manorial system established by the Calverts, was quasi-aristocratic in its character, and into which the penal laws had introduced conditions not unlike those to which the Catholic gentry in England submitted during the eighteenth century.

The neighboring colony of Pennylvania, which, like Maryland, was founded on a feudal basis, was the only other British settlement in which the Roman Catholic religion was tolerated before the Revolution. William Penn, in establishing his magnanimous code, not only acted according to the tolerant principles of the Society of Friends, but he also was able to adopt a policy acceptable to King James II., whose favor he enjoyed, and, the City of Brotherly Love having been laid out in 1683, we find that as early as 1686 the offices of the Church were celebrated in a wooden building which stood on the site of what is now Wall Street, Philadelphia. The German immigration to America is often spoken of as if it were entirely a phenomenon of this century, yet in 1757 the

German Catholics in Philadelphia outnumbered those who spoke English. A remarkable relic of this period and region is a manuscript missal in duplicate written in characters clearer than print by the Jesuit Father Schneider, who was too poor to buy mass-books from Europe, and the distance between his mission stations was so great that he undertook the laborious task in order to lighten the load he had to carry as he tramped through the Delaware valley. At this time there were in Pennsylvania about 3,000 "customers," that is, adult Roman Catholic communicants, and in Maryland about 10,000. The non-communicant Catholics under age are reckoned to have been about the same number in each colony.

The settlement now known as the State of New York deserves a word of mention. When New Netherland was colonized the dominant party in Holland laid down in the charter that the Protestant religion as set forth by the Synod of Dort should be maintained by the Company. In 1664 New York was captured by the British, and having passed into the hands of James, Duke of York and Albany (after whom the capital and the commercial port are named), a Roman Catholic governor was sent out from England in 1683. Catholic influence in the colony seems to have been only transient, as before the end of the century "there were only seven Papists—or, at most, seven Papist families—in New York," and in 1700 a law was passed declaring Jesuits and Popish priests incendiaries and disturbers of the peace. Thenceforward until the Revolution the history of the Catholic Religion in New York is almost a blank. In 1741 a curious incident occurred. The negro slaves, who were a sixth of the then population of 12,000 were accused of a conspiracy to burn the city and massacre the inhabitants. The Reverend John Ury was condemned—it is said unjustly—as one of the white leaders of the plot, and he was put to death chiefly on the ground that he was a Catholic priest, but to this day the doubt has never been cleared up whether he was a Roman ecclesiastic or a nonjuring Anglican divine. It is an

interesting fact that eleven of the convicted negroes were burned at the stake, as it is the boast of the descendants of New England Puritans that in their neighboring colonies, though death was the penalty for every form of heresy—from Quakerism to witchcraft—the cord was the invariable capital instrument, and a recent writer has been severely criticised in America for having asserted that the progeny of the Pilgrim Fathers burned their witches.[1]

Of the vicissitudes of the missionaries of Rome in the Puritan settlements it is not our purpose to speak, as in New England prior to the Revolution there was practically no Catholic population. Nor shall we attempt to describe the position of the Church in the French and Spanish territories which are now included in the United States, interesting as it would be to show how the colonists of France and Spain, to say nothing of the Minorcans, Greeks, and Italians in Florida, helped to lay the foundations of the heterogeneous American nation. It may be mentioned that after the capitulation of Canada by France to Great Britain the free exercise of Catholic religion secured to the Canadians by the Treaty of Paris was extended to the inhabitants of the simultaneously ceded region, which now includes Northern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin; but these settlements, as well as those on the Mississippi, were retained under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec.

We have now approached the eve of the change of things, when America was about to become a nation. Forty years on from the Declaration of Independence the history of the Catholic Democracy of the United States, which commenced at that epoch, is identified with the life and office of the remarkable man who first among American citizens wore the mitre, and for the better understanding of his work and influence we must go back for some years and away from the Western Hemisphere while we briefly trace his early career.

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[1] Roman Catholicism in America. *Nineteenth Century*, Nov., 1889.

John Carroll, the future Archbishop of Baltimore, was born in 1735 at Upper Marlborough, in the division of Maryland, known as Prince George's County, the name of which marks the setting up of the Protestant succession in the old country. His birthplace, a modest frame cottage, recently standing about halfway between Washington and Chesapeake Bay. His father—Daniel Carroll—had early in the century, in spite of penal laws, migrated from Ireland to Maryland, where some of his kindred had already settled. At the age of twelve he was sent to a Jesuit college at Bohemia, established by the Society, not far from the frontier of Pennsylvania, so that refuge might be easy in the tolerant Quaker province in case of interference by the Maryland officials, and one of his fellow pupils here was his kinsman, Charles Carroll, who became famous as a signer of the Declaration of Independence. His stay at this missionary school was brief, as before his father's death in 1750 we find him already a student in the great seminary of St. Omer. In spite of their disabilities, the English Catholic families had at this period an advantage over their countrymen of the same rank in that, instead of undergoing the somewhat rough and narrow training of the country-gentleman of the Walpole era, they were sent abroad, where under the tuition of the most accomplished masters in Europe, they became conversant with the languages, the art, and the manners of the Continent. If the education of the Jesuits was polished and liberal as compared to that usually imparted to the untravelled Englishman, the contrast must have been prodigious between the young colonist so brought up and his neighbors who had led patriarchal lives of isolation in the American plantations. Had John Carroll returned to the old homestead as a brilliant layman he doubtless would have been numbered with the leaders of the Revolution; but another destiny awaited him.

In French Flanders he remained for eight years, spending the last two at Watten, a few miles from St. Omer, where was the novitiate of the English province of the order. He

had decided to enter the Society of Jesus, and after his period of discipline at Watten he was sent on to the Jesuit college at Liége to prepare for the priesthood. In 1759 he was ordained, and while preparing for his final vows he occupied at St. Omer, and again at Liége, a chair of philosophy, and not till 1771 did he take the final vows of a professed father.

The Jesuit society had fallen on troublous times, and it was in France, in 1762, that the first open attack was made on the order. The college of St. Omer was consequently expelled from French territory and re-established at Bruges, on the invitation of the Austrian Government. While Father Carroll was reorganizing the seminary, in 1771, he was selected by the superiors to make the tour of Europe with the son of Lord Stourton, and had they a more direct connection with our subject, we should be tempted to dwell on his letters, written from places which were soon to be the scene of the most momentous changes in the modern history of the world. At Rome, however, events were proceeding which gravely concerned the history of the Church in America, and the results of which to the present day are affecting one great Catholic community on the Western Continent. The young Jesuit priest, when he arrived on the banks of the Tiber with his pupil, found his order in the coldest shade of disfavor; its coming overthrow was publicly discussed, and lampoons on the Society were openly sold in the streets of the Eternal City. His position must have been one of peculiar delicacy. The Roman priesthood in the British colonies was subject to the Vicariate-Apostolic of England, and the person at the Vatican who exercised a controlling influence in all ecclesiastical appointments in Great Britain and her dependencies was Henry Stuart, Cardinal York, the arch-adversary of the Jesuits. Father Carroll, moreover, was on terms of close intimacy with many of the English Catholic families of ancient lineage. The Stourtons, whose son he was educating, the Arundells of Wardour, whose friendship for him may have arisen from the tradition that Lady Baltimore was a

daughter of their house, and the Welds of Lulworth, under whose roof he was later to receive the highest commission of the Church, were Jacobites to a man. Cardinal York was then in the prime of life, and his active zeal against the Jesuits was the more redoubtable inasmuch as the Holy See recognized Charles Edward as King of England, though the story of Culloden was then a quarter of a century old.

In 1773 Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus throughout the world by the famous brief "Dominus ac Redemptor noster," a document with which all Englishmen who take an interest in the British Empire ought to be familiar, seeing that its far-reaching effects are still agitating the Province of Quebec, and the Dominion of Canada generally. Father Carroll repaired to Bruges, where he signed submission to the mandate when the commissaries of Maria Theresa came to take possession of the English college. The fathers were dispersed, their property seized, and John Carroll crossed over to England, where he retired to Wardour Castle, Lord Arundell, who was a count of the Holy Roman Empire, making a vain appeal to the Austrian Government. It was not, however, a time for dignified retirement. Events were taking place in America, compared to which the dissolution of the Jesuits was insignificant, and in June 1774 Father Carroll, bearing faculties as a secular priest, landed at Richmond, Virginia, from a vessel which was one of the last that cleared from England before the Revolution. He had left his native land a child of twelve, and not until his fortieth year did he rest again beneath the roof of his widowed mother.

At the end of the previous year Bishop Challoner, the vicar-apostolic of the London district, had notified to "Messrs. the Missioners in Mariland and Pennsilvania," the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, which had worked in the former province for a hundred and thirty-nine years, and it was on the eve of the Revolution that the Jesuit fathers accepted the brief and became secular priests. We have seen how the

western territory, south of Canada, was made subject to the Bishop of Quebec under the Quebec Act, which declared the exercise of the Catholic faith in those regions free from the operation of the penal laws, and this enactment was considered by the Protestant colonies as one of the last wrongs done to them by the British government. "We think," protested the Continental Congress of 1774, "the legislature of Great Britain is not authorized to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets." The address in which the passage occurs was the work of John Jay, of whose interference on this occasion it has been said that "all Canada would have been won but for the influence of John Jay's bigoted address to the people of England, in which the Canadians and their religion were assailed in the grossest terms." It appears certain that the Protestant demonstration at New York, after the Quebec Act, drove a colony of Roman Catholic Highlanders from the Mohawk valley into Canada, and the loyalty of the Canadian Catholics was so great to the government which protected them that the same bishop who censured a French priest for admitting to the sacraments Canadians serving in the American army, likewise reprimanded him for his courtesy in receiving at his house in Montreal the Rev. John Carroll.

The leaders of the revolution soon recognized that this was not a moment for sectarian jealousy and division. Father Carroll's journey to Canada was for the purpose of urging the Canadians to remain neutral, a mission which he undertook at the request of the Continental Congress, early in 1776, which in little more than a year had learned wisdom. The great opportunist, who had the chief individual share in making the United States a nation, had given religious intolerance a lesson three months previously. On arriving in camp before Boston, after Lexington and Bunker's Hill, General Washington found preparations being made for the celebration of Gunpowder Plot—"Pope Day," as it was called in New England—and in Puritan Massachusetts the Virginian

gentleman of Church of England tradition issued the following order :—

"As the commander-in-chief has been apprised of a design formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise that there are officers and soldiers in this army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of the step at this juncture, when we are soliciting the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada . . . . when to be insulting their religion is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused."

Neither the overtures of Washington nor did subsequent efforts divert the allegiance of the Canadians, but meanwhile the Roman Catholics in the revolted colonies were displaying active zeal for the Revolution, and now circumstances arose which were destined to establish their Church in an impregnable position in the new nation. Early in the war it became evident that the ultimate success of the colonists depended on their receiving recognition from some great European power, and the colonies, which a quarter of a century before had given their sons and their treasure to wrest Canada from France, now turned to the French king to help them in denuding England of her transatlantic possessions. French officers, like Lafayette, had already been leading the untrained levies of the Continental Congress, and at last Louis XVI. concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States, thus formally recognizing the new republic as an independent nation. French fleets were soon seen in American waters, and a French army was welcomed on American soil. The missionaries of Rome had been barely tolerated in the limited districts of the colonies where they had labored; now came Catholic chaplains of the foreign legations, the first diplomatic circle in the United States being entirely Catholic, and naval and military almoners celebrating mass on the men-of-war and in the camps and cities. The alliance of the French with the colonial revolutionists, which was one of the abetting causes of the downfall of the royal dynasty and the despoiling of the Church in France, became on the continent

they liberated the foundation of the fabric of American Catholicism which in a century has grown to be the strongest and the most solid in Christendom.

Complete religious liberty in the emancipated States was not secured in a day, nor in a generation, but there was a general feeling that the Church to which Lafayette and Vaudreuil belonged was not only socially and politically reputable, but also not antagonistic to American freedom. At first only in Maryland and Pennsylvania, where liberty of conscience, as we have seen, was traditional, in Delaware, which is geographically a portion of Maryland, and in George Washington's native Virginia, were all civil rights without distinction or diminution extended to Catholics. In Connecticut and Georgia almost all restrictions were swept away. In Rhode Island the law denying toleration to Catholics was expunged from the statute book on the appearance of the French fleet off Newport. New Jersey made the profession of a Protestant faith the test of holding office. Massachusetts granted liberty of conscience, but permitted the support of Protestant worship out of the taxes. New York, in spite of the liberal efforts of Governeur Morris and Philip Livingstone, imposed conditions which virtually excluded Catholics from the legislature. New Hampshire enacted that the members of its House of Representatives should be Protestants, a provision which was till recently on the statute book; and the two Carolinas likewise imposed a Protestant test. Great as was the advantage given to Roman Catholicism by the Revolution and the French alliance, it is none the less certain that the faith which is now professed by the most powerful religious community in the Union had not a fair start with the creeds of other denominations at the birth of the new nation.

The Tory party made great efforts to excite the old anti-Catholic prejudice against the American cause, and, because the French chaplains in New England were now permitted to celebrate mass and to parade the streets in religious pro-

cessions, the united empire royalists taunted the Puritans that, just as Popery was recognized in Canada, it was now as much established in their States as any other religion. On the other hand, the British government hoped to draw some of the Catholics in the revolted colonies into the military service of the king. It was accordingly proposed to raise a regiment of Roman Catholic volunteers. The attempt was not very successful, and the "Black-lists" of Tory loyalists in Maryland and Pennsylvania are said to contain remarkably few Catholic names. The clergy showed unswerving fidelity to the revolution, the German priests, as well as those who were born in America, and even the small number of British birth who might easily have left the country by entering the English lines, clung to the cause of the colonists. Indeed, the United States owed the possession of the Far West in great measure to the good offices of a Catholic priest. The vast territory north-west of the Ohio, which was known as the Illinois country, was by the Quebec Act part of Canada. England had never recognized, nor did the Continental Congress recognize, the claims of any of the States to it, and it was reduced to the authority of the republic chiefly by the influence of Father Gibault, who had worked among the Indians for a dozen years, and who, strange to say, was a French Canadian by birth.

By this time the first official recognition of the Catholic Church had been made by the American government. In July 1779 the French envoy, M. Gerard, issued an invitation to the president and members of the Continental Congress sitting at Philadelphia, as follows: "Monsieur, vous êtes prié de la part du ministre plenipotentiaire de France, d'assister au Te Deum qu'il fera chanter dimanche 4 de ce mois à midi dans la chapelle catholique neuve pour célébrer l'anniversaire de l'Indépendance des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique." Two years later the same minister invited Congress, the Supreme Executive Council, and the Assembly of Pennsylvania to

hear another sermon from his chaplain, Père Seraphin Baudol, who had preached on the former occasion, in thanksgiving for the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to the combined armies of the United States and France at Yorktown.

The close of the war marks an important period in the history of the Church in the United States. The old vicar-apostolic of the London district had died early in 1781, and his successor, Monsignor Talbot, was evidently, in spite of penal laws, first an Englishman and then a Catholic, as he declined all intercourse with a country which he considered in a state of rebellion, and declared he would exercise no jurisdiction in it. The clergy in Maryland and Pennsylvania, who for the most part had been members of the recently suppressed Society of Jesus, had much diffidence in approaching the Holy See. At last, after the peace, Father Carroll and four of his colleagues, representing different districts, met at Whitemarsh and drew up a petition in the name of the "missionary priests residing in the thirteen United States of America," praying the sovereign pontiff to confirm as superior the vicar-general, who had been appointed by Bishop Challoner, with powers to administer the sacrament of confirmation and to perform other essential functions. Dr. Carroll's letter to the Propaganda, which accompanied the memorial, was the first of the series of statesmanlike documents which the leaders of the Church in America have from time to time addressed to the Vatican. "You are not ignorant," he writes, "that in these United States our religious system has undergone a revolution, if possible, more extraordinary than our political one," and he sets forth with great skill how along with toleration of all Christian creeds there exists a strong jealousy of any semblance of foreign jurisdiction. While Father Carroll was pleading that the Church in America must be administered locally by Americans, his friend, Benjamin Franklin, the envoy of the republic at Versailles, was intriguing with the Nuncio for its subjection to the Gallican

Church by the appointment of a superior nominated by the court of France, but his diplomacy was disavowed by Congress, and the Church in America just escaped being involved in the disaster of the French Revolution. Finally, in June 1784, Father Carroll was appointed prefect-apostolic in the United States, the name attached to the seal of the decree being one which in another person has been distinguished in our generation, Cardinal Antonelli. Thus was established in national independence the American branch of the Catholic Church, but, though a term was put to English jurisdiction, it should be noted that the far north and north-west still remained within the diocese of Quebec, and the American territory near Louisiana, which was now Spanish, was administered by the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba.

Dr. Carroll's utterances from the first days of the organization of the Church struck a keynote of liberality and fearlessness which is still heard in the voices of his successors. In his controversy with one Wharton, formerly a Jesuit of Maryland, he declares that "it never was our doctrine that salvation can be obtained only by those actually in the communion of the Church," and in a letter to an Irish Capuchin in connection with the controversy he writes with remarkable boldness upon the character of the late Pope Clement XIV.: "You think I was mistaken in attributing to him a time-serving policy. . . . May God have mercy on his soul! but whatever allowance charity may wish for him, the pen of impartial history will not join you in attributing to his public conduct the virtue of benevolence;" and he adds that from his personal observation in Rome he considers that the Holy Father's behavior to the Jesuits was irreconcilable even with common humanity and the plainest principles of justice." Again, he expresses a wish that the liturgy might be said in English for the benefit of the poor people and negroes unable to read. Be it remembered that these were not the experiences of an ambitious separatist about to lead a schism, but were the sentiments of the devoted priest whose recent

appointment as superior of the church in his native land was the first of the series of marks of supreme confidence conferred upon him by the Holy See.

The Prefect-Apostolic was not satisfied with his position of dependence on the Propaganda. "We form," he writes, "not a fluctuating body of laborers in Christ's vineyard, but a permanent body of national clergy." He tells Cardinal Antonelli that the American people will not endure the interference of any foreign potentate, and that the Catholics must be permitted to nominate their own superior, subject of course to the pleasure of the Holy See. His "Relation on the State of Religion in the United States," which he drew up for the information of the Propaganda, is a most interesting document. Maryland contained about 16,000 Catholics (of whom 3,000 were slaves, "of African origin, called negroes"); Pennsylvania about 7,000 nearly all white. In Maryland, the heads of Catholic families were for the most part planters; in the neighboring State they were nearly all farmers except the merchants and mechanics living in Philadelphia. In the other English-speaking localities the Catholics were scattered and destitute of all religious ministry, except in the State of New York, where there were about 1,500 of them. The city of New York was in reality then, what it now unduly assumes to be, the capital of the United States. It was the seat of Congress and the residence of the foreign envoys. The first Catholic church in New York was built by the instrumentality of the French Consul-General, De Crêvecœur, and the Spanish minister obtained leave to build a legation chapel, the chaplain of which, Father O'Connell, from the Dominican Hospital at Bilboa, was probably the first Irish priest to settle in the United States.

We must pass over the incidents attending Dr. Carroll's first ministry at Baltimore, the jealousies of the old members of the Jesuit order, the attempts to colonize the West, and the effects of immigration after the peace, which brought in large numbers of German Catholics. The letters of the Prefect-

Apostolic supply a vivid record of life in the early days of the young nation. The hardships of the clergy were severe, their isolation was intense; how modest their stipends may be judged from that of their Superior, who received £210 a year. One privation of the priests, however, which Dr. Carroll describes to Archbishop Troy of Dublin in an appeal for laborers, would not, it is to be feared, move to pity the heart of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster of the present day. "Hardships of every kind," he says, "and particularly great scarcity of wine, must be borne with. Sobriety in drink is expected from clergymen to a great degree. That which in Europe would be esteemed no more than a cheerful enjoyment of a friendly company would be regarded here in our clergy as an unbecoming excess."

It became more and more evident that the appointment of a bishop was of absolute necessity. Refractory priests, men of indocile mind who chafe under ecclesiastical discipline, took advantage of the fact that the Superior was a missionary functionary, subject to the Propaganda at Rome, and appealed to the new-born patriotism of Americans, which was all-jealous of foreign jurisdiction. Once again Father Carroll petitioned the Holy Father, who in 1788 gave directions for the election of a bishop by the priesthood. The choice fell on the Prefect-Apostolic, with only one dissentient voice; and, in November, 1789, Pius VI. issued under the seal of the Fisher's ring the Bull erecting the See of Baltimore, the centenary of which decree was the occasion of the great celebration last winter.

Once more John Carroll crossed the Atlantic, and in the summer of 1790, at the hands of the venerable Bishop Walmesley, the Vicar Apostolic of England, he received episcopal consecration in the chapel of Lulworth Castle, when the book of the Gospels was held over his shoulders by the son of his host, who was later to be known as Cardinal Weld. It was right and fitting that the great English-speaking branch of the Catholic Church should in the day of small things be given its apostolic succession in its mother land. Spain, whose

explorers first set up on American soil the emblem of the Church's faith, might have obtained this honor, since it was by the hands of the Spanish envoy that the decisive petition to the Holy See was conveyed. France, whose missionaries had planted the Catholic religion throughout the continent, from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, had, as we had seen, aided the recognition of the Church by the newly born nation, but in the year of grace 1790 France was amply occupied with her domestic concerns. Just at the moment when the designate father of the American episcopate was being welcomed beneath the hospitable Dorsetshire roof-tree, Lafayette, who had no little share in the events of which this was the consummation, was likewise engaged in ecclesiastical ceremonial. Over in Paris an altar had been reared in the Champ de Mars on the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille, and there the hero of Yorktown waved his sword while Louis Seize swore fealty to the revolutionary constitution, after mass said, for the last time in his chequered career, by Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun. It was better that the ordering of America's first prelate should be in the quiet retreat of an English manor, though it is strange that the democratic Catholicism of the United States should have received its episcopal seal in a home of that English Catholic gentry which was even then willing to suffer and to sacrifice for a lost cause of absolutism.

We have described with some detail the circumstances of the foundation of the hierarchy because it was the turning point of the destiny of Roman Catholicism in the United States. Had the Church in America not been established upon a local basis, had it remained as a missionary organization administered by a camarilla of foreigners in Italy, not only would it never have approached its present position of power, but it would have always been regarded as an alien institution, and the millions of Catholic immigrants who have peopled and fertilized the continent could never have been assimilated with the nation. From the consecration of the first bishop

onward the history of the Church in America is the history of the American people, and a mere sketch of the records of any one of the greater dioceses would fill a volume. We must, therefore, content ourselves with a rapid view of the vicissitudes and progress of the Church in the century which has followed the first investment of an American citizen with the episcopal purple.

The year 1790, which had begun with a public acknowledgment by General Washington of the patriotic part which the Catholics had taken in the accomplishment of the Revolution, ended with an exhortation by the bishop on his homecoming to his people "to preserve in their hearts a warm charity and forbearance toward every other denomination of Christians." The next year the Holy See put the whole of the United States, including all the French and Spanish settlements in the West, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baltimore, and now succeeded a period of difficulty. The Catholic Church in America was, and still is, as heterogeneous in its composition as the American nation, and had it not in the early days of the republic been guided and governed by patriotic leaders, both the Church and the nation might have split up into communities as separate and unsympathetic as are the populations of Quebec and Ontario. There were French priests exiled by the Revolution (Chateaubriand came over with one shipload of them), who brought with them the reactionary traditions of the ancient regime, and looked with longing eyes to the ecclesiastical system in Canada; there was a growing German population in several States who declared that Bishop Carroll's jurisdiction did not extend to their nationality. The bishop was both firm and conciliatory. He nominated a German as his coadjutor, who did not, however, live to be consecrated, but he brought the separatists to complete submission, and before the end of the century the Court of Common Pleas of Pennsylvania in a leading case, gave a civil sanction to his authority.

The new century opened with the first episcopal consecration in the United States, when Dr. Leonard Neale, a Marylander, descended from a maid of honor of the queen who gave her name to his native State, was made coadjutor to the Bishop of Baltimore. Three years later, in the same procathedral, Bishop Carroll officiated at another interesting ceremony, when he "joined in holy matrimony Jerome Bonaparte, brother of the First Consul of France, and Elizabeth Patterson, daughter of William Patterson, Esq., of the city of Baltimore." One of the best-known inhabitants of the Monumental City to-day is a grandson of the King of Westphalia by this marriage, and an inheritor of the unmistakable Napoleonic cast of features. The First Consul had already that year taken a step of great moment to the Catholic Church in America when, on the retrocession of Louisiana by Spain to France, he had forthwith transferred that territory to the United States. This accession to his jurisdiction was an additional motive for the bishop to urge the Holy See to create new dioceses. Pius VII. had consulted an American priest upon Bishop Carroll's projects when he went to Paris to crown Miss Patterson's brother-in-law, but it was not till 1808 that Bulls were issued for the erection of the sees of New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown, which last see included Kentucky, Tennessee, and the northwest region. The nominees for Boston and Bardstown were Frenchmen, and for the other two dioceses Irishmen. All of them were consecrated at Baltimore except the Bishop of New York, but Father Concanen, the Dominican priest designated for that see, received his episcopal orders at Rome, where he resided. He however died in 1810 at Naples, where he had been delayed by the blockade of the Mediterranean ports. He was to have been the bearer of the archiepiscopal pallium to Dr. Carroll, who had now been named metropolitan of the United States, and it was eventually brought to Baltimore by the British minister a few months before Congress declared war against Great Britain.

The last days of the aged archbishop were full of anxiety. The British fleet was in Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac; Washington was burnt, and Baltimore, where the first American Cathedral was rising, was invested by the English troops and the Holy See chose this moment for imposing upon the See of New York a subject of George III. The venerable father of the hierarchy was, however, contented in the knowledge that the difficulties of the Church in his native land were due only to its flourishing increase, and a bishop was given to Louisiana almost at the moment of the battle of New Orleans. The last year of John Carroll's life was cheered by the restoration by the Pope of his beloved Jesuit order, which he had entered more than sixty years before, at a time when the prospects of Catholicism in the British settlements seemed well-nigh hopeless. When he died, in 1815, the revolted colonies had become one of the great powers of the earth, and within the land, from Boston Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, the Catholic Church was a living and vigorous organization. Of the patriarch of the American Church his illustrious successor in the See of Baltimore—Cardinal Gibbons—has well said that

"He did not wish the Church to vegetate as a delicate exotic plant; he wished it to become a sturdy tree, deep rooted in the soil, to grow with the growth and bloom with the development of the country, inured to its climate, braving its storms and invigorated by them. Knowing as he did the mischief bred by national rivalries, his aim was that the clergy and people, no matter from what country they sprung, should be thoroughly identified with the land in which their lot is cast, that they should study its laws and political constitution, and be in harmony with its spirit; in a word, that they should become as soon as possible assimilated to the social body in all things appertaining to the domain of civil life."

In no part of the United States has the growth of the Roman Catholic Church been so remarkable as in New England, where till after the Revolution lingered the spirit which in the previous century had applauded the Puritan Governor Endicott, when he cut from the British flag the St. George's cross "as a Popish symbol savoring of superstition, and not to be countenanced by Christian men." The French alliance and other causes produced such a change in sentiment that when

Bishop Carroll visited Boston in 1791 he was publicly and privately entertained by Protestant societies and individuals. Nevertheless at the end of the century, when President Adams was contributing to the building of the first Catholic church in New England, following Washington's example in Philadelphia, Boston contained only 210 Roman Catholics. At the present day there are 225,000 Catholics among the 400,000 inhabitants of the Puritan capital. Yet this prodigious change is not more amazing than others in the United States which have been instrumental in causing the increase of the national population, and with it the growth of Catholicism. For example, a visitor to the Centennial Congress last November might have entered the cars at Baltimore any evening after dinner, and have heard mass in Boston Cathedral the next morning; whereas Bishop Carroll, writing from the former city in 1803, says that by starting thence at the beginning of September he hopes to reach Boston a few days before a ceremony fixed for Michaelmas.

An ingenious American priest has suggested that the rise of Roman Catholicism in New England was the logical consequence of the Revolution, inasmuch as the proclamation of man's natural rights involved the overthrow of the whole theological structure which the reformed theologians built upon the corner stone of man's "total depravity;" the Puritans, therefore, in signing the Declaration of Independence, signed their own death warrant. The weak point in this philosophic theory is the fact that two generations passed away after the revolution before Roman Catholicism gained an extensive domain in Puritan territory. As late as 1822 Mr. Jefferson wrote: "I trust there is not a young man now born in the United States who will not die a Unitarian;" and it is an interesting study, though this is not the place for it, to trace how the stern faith of the Pilgrim Fathers gave way to the cultured Arianism of Massachusetts, which, after a long reign among the most highly educated community in America, is in turn being dethroned by less barren creeds. The early devel-

opment of the Catholic Church in New England must be ascribed to the more practical cause of immigration, though it is true that the founder of Roman Catholicism in New England was a Congregational minister who became a Catholic priest just a hundred years ago. Father Thayer never attained to the episcopate, and the first bishop of Boston was Dr. Cheverus, who so slightly divested himself of his own nationality that he finally died Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux.

In 1820 the Roman Catholics in the United States numbered about 300,000 which is now the Catholic population of at least three cities in the Union. In ten years from 1810 they had doubled, the general peace in Europe having stimulated immigration, and they were now about one-thirtieth of the whole nation. From that time onwards the history of the Church in America is a record of swift and steady progress, and, though the results are of stupendous importance to the world and to Christendom, the details of the story are perhaps of local rather than of general interest. New sees were erected, provinces created, councils and synods summoned, seminaries founded, and religious orders established, so that as the stream of immigration increased, and the growing population opened up the vast continent, the needs of the newcomers were provided for. The record is not always one of peace; lawless demonstration is a frequent incident in the life of young communities, and half a century ago was the centre of a period during which the rising strength of Roman Catholicism provoked violent opposition in certain cities, notably Philadelphia and Boston, when convents were stormed and churches burnt, not without bloodshed. Nor was the Church always free from domestic dissension; a new population in the sudden enjoyment of republican freedom would naturally chafe against all discipline, and priests as well as people sometimes for a season displayed impatience of authority, but no successful schism was ever accomplished.

It would be impossible here to commemorate even by name all the fathers of the American Church who carried on the

tradition left them by Archbishop Carroll. There was Bishop England, the first Bishop of Charleston, who from the outset of his labors in the Slave States was marked as the ablest prelate of his day, and is still remembered as "the light of the American hierarchy." There was Bishop Dubois, the third incumbent of the see of New York, who, strangely enough, was a schoolfellow of Robespierre and Camille Desmoulins, a brave old Frenchman who, waging war against the trustee system in the administration of the churches, was threatened at the age of eighty with the loss of his stipend, and replied, "Gentlemen, you may vote me a salary or not; I need little; I can live in a basement or a garret, but whether I come up from my basement or down from my garret, I shall still be your bishop." Dr. Hughes, his successor, was the first Archbishop of New York, and was such a conspicuous figure in American public life that, prior to the war with Mexico, the Cabinet at Washington urged him to accept the post of minister to that country, and towards the end of his life he accepted a temporary mission to France during the War of Secession. It was his successor, Archbishop McCloskey, who was the first American citizen to be invested with a cardinal's hat. Then there was Archbishop Kenrick, the sixth in the see of Baltimore, whose finished scholarship did not make him the less efficient to rule the diocese of Philadelphia before his elevation to the primacy in the troublous period we have mentioned. The funeral of his predecessor—Archbishop Eccleston—was followed by the President of the United States and his Cabinet, at the very time when the Prime Minister of England—Lord John Russell—was passing his Papal Aggression Bill. One word of mention should be made of John Fitzpatrick, the young New Englander, who was consecrated a boy-bishop, and who, not long before his premature death, when the news came of the firing on Fort Sumter, was the first of the Boston clergy to order that all the churches should be kept open for prayers for the Union. The civil war was a trying experience for the Catholic Church, but though "Maryland,

my Maryland!" was the rallying cry of the South, and though Catholic and Protestant on either side of Mason and Dixon's line forgot all the distinction of creed fighting for the North or for the South, the integrity of the Church was never harmed, and, the year after the peace, Archbishop Spalding presided over the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, which was said to have been the largest synodical gathering since the Council of Trent.

The history of Catholicism in the United States during the last two generations is most effectively expressed in figures. In 1830 there were nearly half a million Catholics in a population of thirteen millions. By 1840 their numbers had doubled, while the population had increased only to seventeen millions, the proportion of Roman Catholics to the entire population having risen from $\frac{1}{26}$ to $\frac{1}{17}$. Before the next decade closed the Irish famine had occurred, which was the chief cause of the enormous accession of two millions of Roman Catholic inhabitants, and the three million American adherents of the Church in 1850 constituted one-eighth of the total population. During those ten years the immigration to the United States was composed annually of about 200,000 Irish and about 80,000 Germans; but in the next decade a change took place, and accordingly in 1854 we find that 220,000 Germans landed in America and only 101,000 Irish. The proportion of Catholics among the Irish immigrants is seven-eighths; their proportion among the Germans depends on the provinces from which in a given year the immigrants come, and varies from one-fifth to one-half of the total number. The Catholic population never lost ground, and now, in 1890, the lowest estimate of its numbers is 9,000,000, the highest estimate 12,000,000, in a total population of nearly 65,000,000. The next census of the United States will determine all conjectures, but meanwhile it is safe to consider that the Roman Catholics number one-sixth of the inhabitants of the republic.

This enormous growth of the Catholic population in America is not exclusively due to immigration. Other causes of the increase are the annexation of territories, such as Florida, Texas and California, the scattered inhabitants of which were for the most part Catholic; conversions; and the multiplying of families. The last of these alone is numerically of importance. A considerable number of Protestants of influence have become Catholics, and no less than three archbishops and seven bishops of the American hierarchy in the last fifty years were born in other creeds; moreover, in the days when the echo of the Oxford movement was borne across the Atlantic there occurred the strange case of an Anglican prelate, Bishop Ives, of North Carolina, divesting himself of his episcopal office and becoming a layman in the Church of Rome. It is, however, certain that the defections of immigrants have been overwhelmingly more numerous than the conversions. For example, at the end of the decade in which we have seen that two millions of Irish people landed in America, the increase of Roman Catholics in the country amounted to about two millions. It must be remembered that during that period there was also a large immigration of German Catholics, and, moreover, a large family increase both among the immigrants and the Catholic population already in the country. It is impossible to calculate the number of those who fell away from the Church in the period, but they probably amounted to at least a million. Admirable as the organization of the Roman Catholic Church is, the sudden accession to the American nation after the famine in Ireland and the revolution in Germany could not have been foreseen, and the Church in the United States doubtless lost many of her children, not from any defect in her marvellous machinery but from a lack of laborers needed at a time of high pressure. It requires all the resources of the most energetic branch of the most active organization in the world to maintain a condition of preparedness for the incessant growth of the Catholic population. "Messis vuidem multa, operarii autem

pauci " is a complaint often uttered by the fathers of the American Church. Yet the thirty missioners of 1790 have now as successors more than 8,000 priests, working under the direction of fourteen archbishops and seventy-three suffragans, while, to the end that the new generation may be served by a national priesthood less dependent than heretofore on alien aid, there are over 2,000 seminarists of the youth of America training for holy orders in the Church.

The priesthood in the United States is at present drawn from every nation of Europe, not only because the immigrant flocks in the first days in a strange land need pastors of their own race, but also for the reason that, in a country where material prosperity is held to be the chief aim of life, popular sentiment gives little encouragement to the following of unlucrative professions, whether clerical or secular. A growing proportion of the clergy is, however, of American birth, and the national feeling, which we found in the earliest days of the commonwealth jealous of all foreign interference in the affairs of the Church, will in time establish an almost exclusively home-born priesthood. This same patriotic sentiment, which is the most striking and the most potent characteristic in the American nation, has for years been swiftly assimilating the myriad hordes of immigrants which have peopled the continent. Much is now heard of the Irish vote, and of the gross offenses and servile acts which each of the political parties in the Republic is willing to commit to purchase its favor; much is said of the wonderful phenomenon now presented in the United States, where New York and Chicago rank after Berlin as the most populous German cities in the world. Fifty years hence there will be no Irish vote to reckon with, and the chief trace of the Germans in the great commercial centres, will be found in the patronymics of the inhabitants. The American nation will have become so vast that the immigrant stream, however strong, will be overwhelmed in it; and New York, with its half German population and its wholly Irish administrations, men now born may live to see

an American city. Considering the relative numbers of the newcomers and of the earlier settlers, the progress of the process of assimilation has been amazing. It was for this reason that at the outset we emphasized the importance of the immigration which was on the eve of taking place fifty years ago. The immigrants of that period were often peasants, poor, ignorant and superstitious; their descendants are citizens of the most intelligent of modern nations, whose tendencies are sceptical rather than credulous; they are members of a community in which poverty has no place, save in the cities where strangers congregate. The chief result, then, of the influx and increase of Catholic population in the United States is that for the first time in the history of Christendom we find the Roman Catholic religion professed by a great democracy, speaking the dominant language of the earth, inhabiting a continent of boundless resources, forming a powerful section of the foremost in prosperity among the nations. In past ages, no doubt, it is true, that entire peoples adhered to the Catholic faith, but the most favorable example in history cannot be compared with the free and enlightened democracy of America, and in vain in the present day do we look on the Continent of Europe for any such alliance between the Church and the people.

If the fathers of the hierarchy were men prone to reaction and timorous, the branch of the Church they govern would be a select and attenuated body, and Roman Catholicism in the United States would be a subject of no greater importance to the world at large than that of clericalism in Belgium. But the Church in America is happy in having at its head a great statesman. Cardinal Gibbons's achievement at the Vatican, when, the youngest member of the Sacred College, he induced the Holy See to go back upon its decision condemning the Knights of Labor, is well known in this country. The aphorism of Cardinal Manning which he quoted to the Sacred Congregation, to the effect that in the future era the

Church will have to deal, not with potentates, but with peoples, is the keynote of his own public policy.

We have before us two works from the pen of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Baltimore. The brief quotations we have already made from "Faith of Our Fathers" are typical of the spirit of liberality which characterizes all the acts and utterances of this eminent Churchman. The book is an exposition of Catholic doctrine, but the generous and even affectionate tone assumed towards Christians outside the Church is very remarkable in a dogmatic treatise. The only serious flaw we have found in the book is one which is probably the result of its extraordinary popularity, and has been overlooked in the rapidity with which new editions have been issued. The copy before us, published in 1887, is of the 155th thousand, and the 200th thousand has, we believe, been called for. The section to which we take exception is "On the Relative Morality of Catholic and Protestant Countries," and was evidently written in reply to some intemperate Protestant controversialist whose arguments do not deserve the perpetuation which the Cardinal gives to them. We will only say that, even if criminal statistics of 1864 had any pertinence to-day, Cardinal Gibbons is the last prelate in Christendom to hold up to his people the condition of France under the Second Empire as a favorable example in morals.

In this persuasive manual, which is described as "a plain exposition and vindication of the Church founded by our Lord Jesus Christ," there is no mention of the cognate subjects of relics and modern miracles, though the book is exhaustive in other respects. The silence is significant. We know not what is the personal belief of the Archbishop of Baltimore in this respect, but we do know that he is alive to the fact that what might be an aid to faith of the women of one country, or of the peasantry of another, might prove to be a stumbling-block to the practical people of America with their rational tendency of mind. Cardinal Gibbons is a not unworthy follower of the opportunist apostle who wrote to

the Roman colonists on the Gulf of Corinth, "Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt."

The other volume is one of the most striking books ever written by a high dignitary of the Church of Rome. "Our Christian Heritage," which is dedicated to the memory of John Carroll, on the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the hierarchy, is not a polemical work:

> "It does not aim at vindicating the claims of the Catholic Church as superior to those of the separated branches of Christianity. . . . It has nothing to say against any Christian denomination that still retains faith in at least the divine mission of Jesus Christ. On the contrary, I am glad to acknowledge that most of the topics discussed have often found, and still find, able and zealous advocates in Protestant writers, and, far from despising or rejecting their support, I would gladly hold out to them the right hand of fellowship so long as they unite with us in striking the common foe."

The little volume which opens with these words of charity is an apology for what in England is sometimes called "evangelical Christianity." From cover to cover it does not contain six pages which would not be endorsed by any Protestant divine, from the right reverend bench in the House of Lords to the pastors of the Reformed Church in France; indeed, the passage in the book to which a French Protestant would take most exception is one where the Cardinal, who was in Paris when the Franco-Prussian war broke out, on his way home we believe from the Vatican Council, favorably compares the behavior of the German Lutheran troops with that of the nominally Catholic French army:

> "The German Emperor on the contrary, was accustomed to invoke the aid of Heaven on the eve of an engagement, and to thank God for victories won. On the evening before the battle of Sedan the chant that filled the air from every German camp was not the song of ribaldry, but the glorious hymn, 'Nun danket alle Gott.'"

We have quoted these passages not because they are the most admirable in the volume, or the most valuable, but as showing that the sentiment cherished for his fellow Christians

by the powerful head of the Roman Church in America is not a feeling of charitable condescension, but a spirit of perfect brotherhood. The chapters are enriched with illustrations from profane writers of unimpeachable Protestantism from Lucretius to Mr. Lecky, and the chief outward sign that the book is the work of a Catholic is the unfamiliar spelling of the names of Scripture characters according to the Douay version, Pharao and Josue, Achab and Ezechias. The Cardinal takes exception to the action of certain denominations in Baltimore which have moved the Mayor to suppress an "anti-Christian Sunday School," on the ground that coercion in religious matters is in itself anti-Christian, and moreover, impolitic. He denounces monopolies with the same fearless hand which penned the famous memorial to Cardinal Simeoni on the labor question, though the monopolist to-day is as potent a personage in American society as was the slaveholder in the South before the war; and he attacks unsparingly "the gross and systematic election frauds;" he naturally criticises the secular school-system; and he deplores the laxity of the marriage laws. Nevertheless, he takes no pessimist view of the future of his country, for he recounts with pride that every early settlement in America was made by some Christian community, Puritan or Quaker, Anglican or Presbyterian, Huguenot or Catholic; and in a strain of lofty patriotism he declares his hope in the destiny of the nation because from its birth it has never ceased to recognize religion as the basis of society.

If Cardinal Gibbons stood alone in the American hierarchy in his liberal and far-seeing opportunism; if his sagacious recognition of modern tendencies were as far in advance of the sentiments of his American co-religionists as Cardinal Manning's intellectual capacity is superior to that of the English Catholic laity, even then the influence of his words and works would be great, inasmuch as he is a renowned citizen of the United States, of whom all his countrymen are proud, and moreover, a prince of the Church upon whom the Holy See has not only conferred its highest gift, but has also lis-

tened to his counsel in manner unprecedented. But the Cardinal, in his fearless independence, is a faithful spokesman of the millions of his fellow-citizens, who in matters of faith regard him as their national chief, though the immigrant priests and people sometimes lag behind their bold leader. The handsome volume which commemorates the proceedings of the Catholic Congress last November, in celebration of the centenary of the hierarchy, is filled mainly with the sermons and addresses of bishops and laymen assembled at Baltimore and Washington on that occasion. The festival was one of such pomp and magnitude that it would not have been surprising if in the great gathering of Catholics from all corners of the Union there had been uttered words of defiance or of self-satisfied exclusiveness, but we have sought in vain for any utterance which might even wound the feelings of Protestant America. On the contrary, though no expression was wanting of devotion to the Church and of pride in its progress in the land, of which the imposing assembly was a symbol, throughout the orations and discourses there rang clear above all other sounds the note of ardent love of country. This is the secret of the strength of Catholicism in the United States.

Cardinal Gibbons does not stand alone among his brethren of the episcopate in carrying on the tradition of Archbishop Carroll. Among the fathers of the Church who rallied round their head when he went forth three years ago to instruct the Sacred Congregation in American economics there are some who are as eloquent in their patriotism as he. Of all the utterances recorded in the commemoration volume of the centenary nothing approaches in power and boldness the sermon preached in Baltimore Cathedral by Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, Minnesota. A few of his sentences, transcribed without commentary, will give a better idea of the mission and destiny of the Catholic Church in the United States than many pages of dissertation :—

"The watchwords of the age are reason, education, liberty, the material improvement of the masses. Nor are these watchwords empty sounds. They represent solid realities, for which the age deserves praise. . . . Despite its defects and mistakes I love my age. I love its aspirations and its resolves. I revel in its feats of valor, its industries and its discoveries. I thank it for its many benefactions to my fellowmen, to the people rather than princes and rulers. I seek no backward voyage across the sea of time. I will even press forward. . . . In our American parlance, let us go ahead. What if we do at times blunder? If we never venture we shall never gain. The conservatism which is resolved to be ever safe is dry-rot.

"Do not fear the novel, provided principles are well guarded. It is a time of novelties—and religious action, to accord with the age, must take new forms and new directions. Let there be individual action. Laymen need not wait for priest, nor priest for bishop, nor bishop for Pope. The timid move in crowds, the brave in single file. When combined efforts are called for, be ready, and at all times be prompt to obey when orders are given; but with all this there is vast room for individual action, and vast good to be done by it.

"We should live in our age, know it, be in touch with it. There are Catholics more numerous, however, in Europe than in America, to whom the present will not be known until long after it shall have become the past. Our work is in the present, and not in the past. It will not do to understand the thirteenth better than the nineteenth century; to be more conversant with the errors of Arius or Eutyches than with those of contemporary infidels or agnostics; to study more deeply the causes of Albigensian or Lutheran heresies, or the French Revolution, than the causes of the social upheavals of our own times. The world has entered into an entirely new phase; the past will not return; reaction is the dream of men who see not, and hear not; who sit at the gates of cemeteries weeping over tombs that shall not be reopened, in utter oblivion of the living world back of them. We should speak to our age of things it feels and in language it understands. We should be in it, and of it, if we would have its ear.

"For the same reason there is needed a thorough sympathy with the country. The Church of America must be, of course, as Catholic as ever in Jerusalem or Rome; but so far as her garments assume color from the local atmosphere she must be American. Let no one dare paint her brow with foreign tint, or pin to her mantle foreign linings. There is danger; we receive large accessions of Catholics from foreign countries. God witnesses it they are welcome. I will not intrude on their personal affections and tastes; but those, if foreign, they shall not incrust upon the Church. Americans have no longing for a Church with foreign aspect; it would wield no influence over them. In no manner could it prosper; exotics have never but sickly forms.

"The strength of the Church to-day in all countries particularly in America, is the people. This is essentially the age of democracy. The days

of princes and of feudal lords are gone; monarchs hold their thrones to execute the will of the people. Woe to religion where this fact is not understood! He who holds the masses, reigns. The masses are held by their intellect and their heart. No power controls them save that which touches their own free souls. We have a dreadful lesson to learn from certain European countries, in which, from weight of tradition, the Church clings to thrones and classes, and loses her grasp upon the people. Let us not make this mistake. We have here no princes, no hereditary classes. Still there is the danger that there be in religion a favored aristocracy, upon whom we lavish so much care that none remains for others. . . . The time has come for 'salvation armies' to penetrate the wildest thicket of thorns and briars, and bring God's word to the ear of the most vile, the most ignorant, and the most godless. Saving those who insist on being saved, as we are satisfied in doing, is not the mission of the Church. 'Compel them to come in' is the command of the Master. This is not the religion we need to-day—to sing lovely anthems in cathedral stalls, and wear copes of broidered gold, while no multitude throng nave or aisle, and the world outside is dying of spiritual and moral starvation. Seek out men; speak to them not in stilted phrase or seventeenth-century sermon style, but in burning words that go to their hearts as well as their minds."

With no words better than these can we conclude. They are the words of no visionary optimist, but of a leader looked up to by millions of the most intelligent and most prosperous nation in the world. The English-speaking race is fated to dominate the earth, and for the first period of its domination the American people are bound to take the foremost place. Supposing that the Catholic Church only retains its present proportion of the inhabitants of the United States, even then, before the coming century has grown old, the American Catholics will probably number sixty millions, and there will be more Catholics in the world speaking the English tongue than any other language. We make no conjecture as to the form which the revolution in the economy of the Church will take. Events march so rapidly in this age that it would be futile to look forward even ten years ahead. We know not whether the dawn of a new century will break upon the chair of St. Peter still jealously surrounded by a band of Italian reactionaries; we know not whether on the continent of Europe the name of Rome will still be associated with the policy of retro-

gression; even the immediate future is obscure, and only of the incidence of the unexpected can we be absolutely certain. Still, so far as calculation can be based upon phenomena which the last half century has developed, it would not seem unduly rash to prophesy that the history of Christendom is about to be revolutionized by an alliance which has been consummated in the New World between the venerable Church in whose name it was first given to the Old, and the democracy of that mighty English race which wrested the American continent from its Catholic discoverers.

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